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MATERIALISM AND LIFE

I

CONTROVERSY may have much to recommend it. It may clear the air, stimulate activity, arouse interest, and put us on our mettle; for opposition gives opinion strength. But it aggravates the parties concerned, and seldom fails to divert their attention from the real point at issue, or to end, as in theological disputes, in a mere quarrel about trifles and the abuse of words, if not of the assailants themselves. It has the merit, however, of amusing the lookers-on—as in a prize-fight—and not infrequently of exciting their enthusiasm, and converting a dull apathy into a sympathetic glow.

But it impairs philosophy, and may give the lie or predilection a temporary advantage, under the appearance of triumphant truth. Although the fighting spirit is in us still, and as civilized men we do not use the sword or the pistol our ancestors were bold to handle, we do occasionally fall back, whether rightly or wrongly, on the tongue or the pen to satisfy that instinct which remains to us as the ancient heritage of our race, the mainspring of our actions. For 'he who thus wrestles with us,' as it were, 'strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skill; our antagonist is our greatest helper.'

The purport of these remarks, however, though still applicable to certain controversialists at the present day, cannot, strictly speaking, be attributed to Sir Oliver Lodge, nor even to Professor Haeckel. They are both imbued with the true spirit of inquiry; and though viewing, as they do, the universe from two apparently opposite standpoints, it is not too much to say that, on the whole, they maintain their self-respect and equanimity throughout.

I think it was St. Thomas Aquinas who said that if all men only understood each other they would all be of the one opinion. Indeed, difficult as it may be to take this sound advice, we need no reminders that the first duty of a critic is to understand him whom he would criticize, to appreciate before proceeding to find fault.

Now Sir Oliver Lodge does not misunderstand Haeckel, nor indeed does he misrepresent him, but he differs from him widely. In that interesting volume which he recently published¹ there is a vigorous criticism of the *Riddle of the Universe*, at once searching and unsparing, though it does not present Haeckel as we think on the whole in an unfair or an unworthy light. The position which he holds is obviously on the face of it one which may be held and has been held for many a day.

It is materialistic Monism; strange system, no doubt, but strange fascination has it long had for certain types of mind. It concedes to matter what other systems of thought would attribute to some other unknown source. Although the word 'matter' is used by each in a somewhat different sense, that phenomenon which we call life, whether invariably associated or sometimes dissociated from it, in whichever sense it may be employed, still leaves us where we were, unable to say positively, one way or the other, whether we are not mere ephemeral spirits or sojourners in a strange land, gradually passing through it into a clearer and more glorious vision. The strange experiences of St. Teresa—perhaps one of

¹ *Life and Matter*, by Sir Oliver Lodge. Fourth Edition. (Williams and Norgate.)

the sanest women in history—are continually before the minds of those who view the question seriously. And many psychologists at the present day claim that there is much in such phenomena. Mr. William James of Harvard and Professor Osler of Oxford both believe not merely in its possibility but even in its actuality; whilst the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers and Professor Henry Sidgwick thought likewise, and did much to strengthen our hopes in that direction. Yes, there are many ways of looking at this question, and the facts revealed are ever in the light of present scepticism more than of mere interest. The evidence they throw upon the question of a future state or the nature of life itself admits, we think, of no definite answer, just as it admits of no definite proof. It merely satisfies some and dissatisfies others. It leaves us, indeed, where we were, asking, as of old, the same and oft-repeated question: Wherefore the nature as well as the beginning and the end of things? But it is this that makes it all the more interesting, and renders the views on this great question of profound interest to all thoughtful and inquiring minds.

II

There are none of us so dull that, in solitary moments of contemplation, the majesty of this great reality does not come home to us, to arouse the sense of the true dignity and greatness of mankind. There are fewer still who do not derive from such moments of meditation what Mr. Balfour has well described as that 'intense intellectual gratification' which satisfies our highest nature; and perhaps fewer again to whom it is not the everyday question that underlies the guiding principle of their lives. This emotion—for it is perhaps in a sense only a higher emotion, though, as Lotze held, not of less value on that account—may be compared to the refined sensations produced by the rhythm of music, of poetry, and of art. And in cultivated minds it is the music, the poetry,

and the art of all philosophy. One of the most remarkable attributes of our nature is this power of looking back upon ourselves as well as looking out upon the world. For it is that which distinguishes us from brute creation. What an infinitude of ideas may we not find within as well as without our own small individuality!—a power of introspection as remarkable as the faculty of observation of the outer world. Strange, is it not, that this attribute in man of perceiving his direct contact with reality, if we might put it so, the most extraordinary thing about him, should pass unnoticed by so many? Yet literary men seek their inspiration from it, and the leaders of men in great movements at all times have been inspired by it. If the man of letters be necessarily a prophet—as Carlyle would have us to suppose—this surely is the lesson he has to teach—that we are ever in the presence of a power in direct communion with our highest and our inmost nature. It may be all fancy, but some of the greatest, if not all the greatest, and certainly the best of mankind, have thought likewise. No more fancy, indeed, than the sense of honour or the love of truth. And it has appealed in one way or another to all men, at all times and in all places. However ennobling it may be, does it not move us to the true sense of our place in nature? Do we expect to find in bottles and in test-tubes the answer to this great enigma? The man must be narrow who would think so. Few things there are that some men love to dwell upon so much, and others to think so little about, yet there is nothing that in moments of sincerity appeals more to all sorts and conditions of our kind. Let us think of it or not, call it by whatever name we please, this problem is what all men, knowingly or unknowingly, ask themselves, when in earnest, if they think at all.

III

It was from considerations such as these that Carlyle detested Darwinism; because it did not after all affect the

real question of life. That problem does, indeed, present many aspects, and the aspect presented by Professor Haeckel is merely one of them. It gives what seems to us a coherent view from a certain standpoint; but it does not penetrate quite far enough. It is, as we have said of Herbert Spencer,¹ a mere fabric in mid-air, with no foundation whatsoever, like a panorama before the mind of a conscious but not self-conscious being; consistent knowledge no doubt, but without a basis. This so-called rationalism has no rational foundation; a consistent view of the world it may be, but it is not philosophy.

On the other hand, as Lodge says of Haeckel, 'In his effort to simplify and unify he has underestimated some classes of fact and has stretched scientific theory into regions of guess-work and hypothesis, where it loses touch with real science altogether. The facts which he chooses gratuitously to deny, and the facts which he chooses vigorously to emphasize, are arbitrarily selected by him according as they will or will not fit into his philosophic scheme.'

In his endeavour to work out this system he apparently regards 'matter' and 'energy' as manifestations of the one selfsame substance, the all-embracing reality.

'There are things which cannot yet be fitted in as part of a coherent scheme of scientific knowledge—at present they appear like fragments of another order of things; and if they are forced into the scientific framework, like portions of a "puzzle-map" before their true place has been discovered, a quantity of substantial fact must be disarranged, dislocated, and thrown away. A premature and cheap monism is therefore worse than none at all.' But as he remarks, 'All philosophy aims at being monistic.'

Yes, an instinct lingers in our nature by which we crave at times for unity in all things. It is the philosophizing instinct. It is well to ask in passing, of what

¹ *Contemporary Review*, June 1906.

use it is. Why should it be there and have survived? Mr. Balfour has more than once expressed the difficulty which this question has often presented to him—this craving for a unity, this philosophic faculty which has apparently no utility for us. Men move through the world without ever making use of it. How many are there who exhibit it in any shape or form? How many still have the opportunity to make use of it, even if they would? But there it is, and it must have some survival value, or else it would scarcely have survived. It is reason developed to its highest pitch about matters of apparently little practical importance. There must be something in this faculty, worthless as it may seem at first sight. It is perhaps after all that which makes us rulers of ourselves. If so, therein does its survival value rest. It places us at an advantage over our more vigorous but thoughtless neighbours; moulds our actions, shapes our destinies, and makes us masters of our fate.

This intellectual desire and transcendental power of grasping the unity is no delusion. But it seems to us to be an instinct of the same kind as the desires for their own sakes, for justice, for goodness, and for truth. When analysed they are found, I think, to be resolvable into desires of an intuitive kind—non-egotistical pleasures which appeal to us, on all occasions, as things worthy in themselves.

Now the history of our race scarcely leads us to imagine that this desire could have existed in a marked degree till rather recent times, whilst its development in a few thousand years would scarcely, from recent biological considerations, such as those of Weismann, be intelligible unless it had been there in a potential form throughout. The operation of natural selection is too slow a process to be accounted for in that time; whilst the presence of these instincts in us becomes the more marked the more advanced we grow in years; more definite and more convincing in the non-egotistical nature it assumes; necessary to us as a phenomenon of the consciousness of our own

personality and our being. These instincts and desires seem to us to bear testimony to that which is permanent and everlasting, and therein we think that as the basis of all character their real survival value is to be found. And now we come to the point. How much, or how far, does Haeckel touch upon these matters? Questions which a man, as soon as he becomes a man, must ask himself. Why, scarcely, if at all! He is neither ethical nor metaphysical nor scientific, and only touches on the difficulties which underlie the real problem. He touches them with a lightness of heart which may perhaps give a charm to all his writings, but deprives them to some extent of that worth they might otherwise possess.

IV

Too much flippancy and too little knowledge does the man of science display who would explain all nature by A's and B's and x 's and y 's. He does not take a broad perspective of the problem as it is. Atoms and molecules are apt to carry us away, yet they throw but little light upon the question. That our origin may be traced to the embryonic cell is true enough, and yet the potential properties of the cell remain a mystery as before.

The evolution of mind and conscience and will-power from cells, and, as we think, from atoms and electrons *ad infinitum*, may be true enough.¹ But these phenomena in their potential forms are in some respects not less wonderful than in their developed ones. Development and Evolution are all that science can teach us. The phenomena themselves ever have been and ever will be a mystery. It is here that we find ourselves face to face with the actual problem. And although we may smile at it and say what is the use of discussing these things, it is well we should know where the mystery lies. And it is

¹ See *Knowledge*, March and April 1907, and the *Monist*, April 1908.

well that we should realize what the question means, and that we can only get a one-sided glimpse of it at present.

Now Lodge does not take this transcendental view, no doubt because he thinks it unnecessary to go so far in demolishing his adversary; but his perspective and the horizon of his knowledge are very much wider than are Haeckel's. 'As a child of the nineteenth century,' which Haeckel calls himself, he sees nothing in the universe but molecules and atoms. And so he would explain all nature in terms of these. But to savants of a broad type, men of letters, poets, philosophers, men of action, soldiers, statesmen, priests, heroes of all kinds, men that stir our blood to noble and immortal deeds, this world is surely something more than atoms. Nor does it exist for Caesars alone, for Haeckels or for us. It is wrong to call this sentiment and dismiss it with a grin. As well might we say that the sense of justice is a sentiment, or that love of truth is a sentiment; that fact and error are the same, and that truth is in reality a lie.

Our science of the nineteenth century, in its attempts to account for everything, even that on which its real foundation rests, has many sins to atone for. No more devout adherent of evolution in its thorough-going form is there than myself. For that same reason I feel convinced that that chain of causes and effects cannot hang from nothing nor rest on nothing unless the whole thing be a dream. To stand upon our legs we must seek the basis of our knowledge in some firmer ground than science or experience, for knowledge and experience must first of all be possible.

And it is not in laboratories or in test-tubes, again, but in the solid ground of our own selves, in consciousness, in reason, and the sense of justice, that we must seek the basis of that knowledge and reality. No atoms can account for these and account for themselves as well. Marvellous, impenetrable mystery is this enigma of our being, that stirs the very depths of human nature to a true knowledge of itself. Science does not carry us one whit farther than

the dynamical order of the universe, the mere interaction of those units which we call atoms, of whose inherent properties we know absolutely nothing.

V

But let us turn to Lodge's view of Haeckel in thus regarding nature as a whole.

The two central points in Haeckel's philosophy are the 'law of substance,' or the conservation of Matter and Energy; and 'spontaneous generation,' or the development of life from inorganic matter without antecedent life.

Lodge remarks the problem to be solved is 'the range, and especially the nature of the connexion between mind and matter; or, let us say, between the material universe on the one hand, and the vital, the mental, the conscious and spiritual universe or universes, on the other.' In his materialistic views upon this question Lodge pathetically describes Haeckel as 'a surviving voice from the nineteenth century,' who represents, 'in clear and eloquent fashion, opinions which then were prevalent among many leaders of thought—opinions which they themselves in many cases, and their successors still more, lived to outgrow; so that by this time Professor Haeckel's voice is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, not as the pioneer or vanguard of an advancing army, but as the despairing shout of a standard-bearer, still bold and unflinching, but abandoned by the retreating ranks of his comrades as they march to new orders in a fresh and more idealistic direction.'

A statement of this kind may be no doubt quite true; but we must bear in mind that Professor Haeckel may perhaps retort that the age to which he belongs followed upon an idealistic period, and that the swing of the philosophic pendulum might again see his opinions to the fore.

Such statements, whether true or false, can nearly always be applied, in some way or another, to those to whom we

object. They are of interest in expressing the opinion of an individual, and may be taken to be a mode of expression that the individual does not approve of his adversary's views. It is merely a roundabout way of saying that in our opinion he is wrong. But it carries no conviction with it. Sir Oliver Lodge is no doubt quite justified in expressing himself thus, for Haeckel is at times dogmatic and aggressive. Nevertheless, there seems to be more in Monism than might at first be imagined.

I venture to think that the difference between them is where they draw the line; that if Haeckel be cross-examined, he would doubtless admit that Lodge's views would apply to materialistic phenomena not yet discovered. What he would insist upon is the connexion, or rather relation of cause to effect throughout. Yet this is not quite accurate, for Haeckel does maintain the conservation of Matter, that is of chemical atoms, and the conservation of Energy. But he did not know that chemical atoms are made up of smaller things whose mass depends upon their velocity, which contradicts the conservation of mass. The conservation of Energy may merely be an approximately accurate law. It is gratifying to find (p. 129) that Lodge admits 'there is indeed but little difference between us' in the following statements of Mr. McCabe's: 'Haeckel does not teach—never did teach—that the spiritual universe is an aspect of the material universe, as his critic makes him say; it is his fundamental and most distinctive idea that both are attributes or aspects of a deeper reality.' But he finds it difficult to reconcile this with the following passage:

'The peculiar phenomenon of consciousness is . . . a physiological problem, and as such must be reduced to the phenomena of Physics and Chemistry. . . . I therefore consider Psychology a branch of natural science—a section of Physiology. . . . We shall give to the material basis of all psychic activity, without which it is inconceivable, the provisional name of psychoplasm.'

This psychoplasm, of course, is Clifford's mind-stuff.

The two views do not appear to me irreconcilable. As the electric charge is concentrated in the electron, but spreads its energy throughout all space, so may the soul or vital unit be concentrated in the nucleus of the cell and yet extend its sphere of action throughout the universe. The analogy of a magnetic field is perhaps even more à propos. These are merely possibilities; but they are of importance in showing that there is no necessary incompatibility between the two views.

The properties of electrified and unelectrified matter are different. So also are those of living and dead matter. And in the *Origin of Life* I have indicated that we should look for such differences in the physical properties of the nucleus which is supposed to consist in its ultimate form of biogen, a substance which we may assume to have been evolved from inorganic matter by natural selection, on the supposition that the atoms of all matter are to some extent vital units and units of consciousness, but that by the fortuitous formation of suitable aggregations of electrons out of countless millions of failures, the types adapted to reproduction and all its necessary relations have been sifted out in the course of events as fitted to survive.¹ It is indeed natural selection in the evolution of the organic from the inorganic, of the building up of the complex from the simple elements. But then these unstable aggregations are once more disintegrated into simpler and more stable ones, till they are again resolved into the inactive elements of inorganic matter.

This integration and disintegration, building up and breaking down of molecules, is indeed metabolism on a large scale, the units of time being aeons instead of seconds. But there it is proving to us, if indeed proof be required, that there is nothing either great or small but thinking makes it so!

Life, according to Lodge, on the other hand, may be something that unites itself for a while with matter and

¹ *Knowledge and the Monist*, loc. cit.

then vanishes into another kind of existence, like dew that condenses on a polished surface and afterwards disappears by evaporation.

Our view is not exactly this, but it has some resemblance to it. There is something in the nucleus which regulates the protoplasm; causes it to move, to grow, to nourish itself from its surroundings, to reproduce itself, and finally to die. This ultimate nuclear substance is, I think, matter too; but matter of a different grade from ordinary matter, though essentially of the same kind as it.

Like Liebnitz's monads, the atoms of all matter may be conceived as possessing to some extent the qualities of mind, to however small an extent that may be. They only differ in degree. They are all arranged 'higgledy-piggledy' at first, and gradually find their level, so to speak, till this fortuitous formation of the most appropriate aggregates and their survival becomes equivalent to natural selection. And then, as if against all opposition, the types best suited to the particular work which life necessitated survived. They are all 'higgledy-piggledy,' as I say, like the stars, 'all fire, and every one doth shine.' But in all those millions there is but one perhaps that, unassailable, holds its own unchecked motion, and that one forms a nucleus of living matter, to evolve in countless generations into a Shakespeare or a Julius Caesar, when circumstances should favour their appearance most.

VI

I cannot here enter into a detailed account of this idea of the evolution of life and consciousness in organic matter, from the inert, inactive, inorganic—which I have worked out elsewhere.

Sir Oliver Lodge, however, regards life as apparently something different from matter; something which enters and leaves it without our knowing how or why.

'It is perpetually arriving and perpetually disappear

ing while it is here, if it is at a sufficiently high level, the animated material body moves about and strives after many objects; some worthy, some unworthy; it acquires thereby a certain individuality, a certain character. It may realize *itself*, moreover, becoming conscious of its own mental and spiritual existence; and it then begins to explore the Mind which, like its own, it conceives must underlie the material fabric—half displayed, half concealed by the environment, and intelligible only to a kindred spirit. Thus the scheme of law and order dimly dawns upon the nascent soul, and it begins to form clear conceptions of truth, of goodness, and of beauty; it may achieve something of permanent value, as a work of art, or of literature; it may enter regions of emotion and may evolve ideas of the loftiest kind; it may degrade itself below the beasts, or it may soar till it is almost divine.' And he goes on to ask, 'Is it the material molecular aggregate that has of its own unaided latent power generated this individuality, acquired this character, felt these emotions, evolved these ideas? There are some who try to think that it is. There are others who recognize in this extraordinary development a contact between this material frame of things and a universe higher and other than anything known to our senses; a universe not dominated by Physics and Chemistry, but utilizing the interactions of matter for its own purposes; a universe where the human spirit is more at home than it is among these temporary collocations of atoms; a universe capable of infinite development, of noble contemplation and of lofty joy, long after this planet—nay, the whole solar system—shall have fulfilled its present spire of destiny, and retired cold and lifeless upon its endless way.'

And this idea is a delightful one, and it is possibly right. We can only wish we had more evidence in support of it; evidence which might throw light upon that impenetrable envelope which surrounds the mystery of life, and in particular of human life.

This is indeed a noble theme, grand in its associations;

one that cannot fail to inspire in us the loftiest aspirations and sublime hopes. But we must be careful that it is not a fool's paradise we live in, or a mare's-nest that we aspire to. All these ideas have their place in our inmost nature; give a charm to life, add to its sweetness and its strength; form the guiding principles of conduct and the basis of all character. But alas, a philosopher must own the truth! And deeply as it appeals to us, it becomes us not to exaggerate the perspective in which it is seen. It carries with it a conviction, but only to those who see it in a certain light. Like a great picture which to vacant or to microscopic minds, or to comprehensive ones, in the wrong light, conveys no meaning whatsoever, whilst it reveals to others, perhaps only for the moment, the mystery of all things, so does this world seem but chaos to some of us, and to others the revelation of the Divine.

That we could pierce the veil and see things as they are! See Truth and Love and Goodness as things not for to-day or to-morrow, but for evermore. One glance that we might comprehend the whole. Would it not compensate for an eternity of stupefaction, or an infinitude of ennui? To live for a moment, but to know that it was life! There are many of us who long for this; and yet even a Sidgwick would not admit that it was wisdom to prefer the intense joy of a moment to a lesser happiness or misery of all time. Do not these reflections at any rate serve to impress upon us once more that wisdom is the recognition of our middle nature, of that place in which Nature has placed us? The lesson which all science and all knowledge teach: that there is nothing either great or small but thinking makes it so!

VII

'The possibility that "life" may be a real and basal form of existence, and therefore persistent,' says Lodge, 'is a possibility to be borne in mind. It may at least serve as a clue to investigation, and some day may bear fruit; at

present it is no better than a working hypothesis. It is one that on the whole commends itself to me; for I conceive that, though we only know of it as a function of terrestrial matter, yet that it has another aspect too, and I say this because I see it arriving and leaving—animating matter for a time and quitting it, just as I see dew appearing and disappearing on a plate. Apart from a solid surface, dew cannot exist as such; and to a savage it might seem to spring into and to go out of existence—to be an exudation from the solid, and dependent wholly upon it; but we happen to know more about it; we know that it has a permanent and continuous existence in an imperceptible, intangible, super-sensual form, though its visible manifestation in the form of mist or dew is temporary and evanescent. . . . Whatever life may be, it is something which can begin to interact with the atoms of terrestrial matter, at some period or state of aggregation . . . there is nothing in that to say that it is a function of matter alone, any more than the wind is a function of the leaves which dance under its influence.'

Life may be a form of energy which, for a certain time and under certain conditions, arouses a kind of motion in some varieties of molecular or atomic aggregations. As the radiation from the sun may excite vigorous metabolism in the molecules of a piece of uranium¹ glass, so may all life be but the disturbance of matter by a form of energy as yet unknown to us.

Many of those who live and also think intensely, seem to feel that they are ever in the presence of a power by which they become more deeply conscious of themselves and their own insignificance compared with it. Some say it is the presence of the Spirit of the Divine that stirs within us, and moves us on to noble ends. It is in this conception that some of the greatest thinkers have sought the riddle of the universe. But it is that which Haeckel with his Monism ignores.

¹ *The Origin of Life*, chap. x (Physical Metabolism).

We cannot say that there is not some misconception in regarding these phenomena in this way. Many of us feel that that ever-present conscious energy is the fountain and the source of all our life. As the sun is the source of light and heat, and other forms of energy in our planet, so is this living intellectual energy which shines within us an indication of that vast intelligence which pervades throughout.

But here, again, many men have many minds; and it is not within human power to prove these things to the satisfaction of all. There are those who cannot perceive the problem in this light. For them there is no answer and no proof. As well might we appeal to deaf-mutes and ask them to consent to our assurance of the beauty or the harmony of the works of a Wagner, a Beethoven, or a Mozart. We cannot appeal to them, for the soul of such as these cannot be moved. No doubt they might say that the voice which resounds in us, to which they cannot respond, is a delusion. If so, the discussion of the question must be dropped. And yet is it not to be noted that some of the greatest of our kind can respond and have responded to it? For it is unquestionably one of those instincts which, like other qualities of intellect and heart, have ever commanded the respect of civilized men throughout the world. There is, I believe, more in it than some are willing to admit. The difficulty of distinguishing between what is illusion and what is fact is no doubt a great one. There are men who respond to this frame of mind as instinctively as the well-bred of all nations respond at a glance to each other, that they belong to the same sphere of beings—a freemasonry of its own that makes them feel that they are in tune and have kindred spirits.

As Carlyle said of Tennyson, here indeed is 'a true human soul, or some fair approximation to it, to whom your own soul can say brother,' so is there a unison between men and women too of this type in every land. It is unison indeed, not sympathy merely; but harmony

of head and heart. A Carlyle, an Emerson, will tell us the same thing. Men of letters have always emphasized it. It is perhaps akin to the power of language in its most developed form, conveying to us the glory of our being.

VIII

The word 'sentiment' is wrongly used if applied to this idea. It is not sentiment, unless, as Lotze held, all thought is sentiment. For it has appealed to the most cultured and refined and yet coldest intellects. A man must be educated to appreciate it at its best. Wherein is it that men have sought inspiration in their finest works of music, of poetry and of art, and in their works of philosophy and science? Is it not in that loftier plane, when the beauty of ideas and of modes and moods, of intellect and of character, lifts them to a height beyond which they feel the soul need not aspire?

It is considerations such as these that have made men from the time of Plato to our own think twice, and many times, before they abandon that hopeful path which points to an hereafter. As in such passing moments of enthusiastic bliss, if we keep our balance, there must be also moments of despondent scepticism when we feel that it may be merely a state of ecstasy to which a lofty purpose has raised us, like the delightful vision of a base narcotic, and that we shall find in calmer moments that it has been only the empty shadow of a glorious dream.

Not so, say some. Only the sincere and pure of heart can elevate the soul to such a state of ecstasy, if ecstasy it be—that intellectual gratification of our highest nature. It does, I think, stand for something which is true and permanent. As to a citizen of the United States the Stars and Stripes and to an Englishman the Union Jack stand for all that is heroic and best in the American or the English character, something which cannot be described as sentiment alone, but the mainspring of heroic action as well, so in the intellectual sphere are there certain ideas

which lift the intellect to a knowledge of itself and the Divine into regions which enable us to soar to the sublime. But once more, the man of science can only dimly grasp the full meaning of the Truth, as of the sense of Goodness and of Beauty. 'If he seeks to explain these in terms of sexual selection, or any other small conception which he has recently been able to form in connexion with vital procedure on this planet, he is explaining nothing; he is merely showing how the perception of beauty may operate in certain cases; but the inner nature of beauty and the faculty by which it is perceived are utterly beyond him. He cannot but feel that the unconscious and unobtrusive beauty of field and hedgerow must have originated in obedience to some primal instinct or in fulfilment of some immanent desire, some lofty need quite other than anything he recognizes as human.

'And if a poet witnessing the colours of a sunset, for instance, or the profusion of beauty with which snow-mountains seem to fling themselves to the heavens in districts unpeopled and in epochs long before human consciousness awoke upon the earth; if such a seer feels the revelation weigh upon his spirit with an almost sickening pressure, and is constrained to ascribe this wealth and prodigality of beauty to the joy of the Eternal Being in His own existence, to an anticipation, as it were, of the developments which lie before the universe in which He is at work, and which He is slowly tending towards an unimaginable perfection—it behoves the man of science to put his hand upon his mouth, lest in his efforts to be true, in the absence of knowledge, he find himself uttering, in his ignorance, words of lamentable folly or blasphemy.'

It is the duty of the man of science to regard the problem in all its various phases, in its various aspects, in its many shades, of greater darkness and of greater light, and to admit that *ignoramus*, but not, with Du Bois Raymond, *ignorabimus*, is the final verdict. Nay, rather with Lodge might we not hope that, notwithstanding the touch of scepticism which remains in us, the cloud which now

conceals the reality, like the veil of Isis may yet be lifted from our eyes, and that as more enlightened spirits it may yet be our lot to perceive Truth, and Goodness, and Beauty as they are. Perhaps kindred spirits, when divested of their mortal coil, may still commune with one another—those unutterable ideas within us that lift us to the plane of the Divine, ideas which speech cannot adequately convey, but which may yet find a truer realization in another world.

It is possible that human souls, like vortex rings in the ether fluid, may move through space, approach and react on one another: as when incarnate they can become conscious of each other by ethereal disturbances, such as those of light and heat and so forth: and when disembodied might they not likewise, and perhaps more freely, become conscious of a still greater variety of sensations, from the vast complex of ether disturbances, in their perfect freedom, a consciousness produced by the harmonic vibrations of the most perfect and delightful kinds—the music of the spheres as of old? May not one soul be conscious of the presence of another and a kindred soul when divested of this mortal coil, and know that it was perfect love? That we could say yes! The man of science can only hope. It is something to know that there is nothing in the whole of human knowledge at the present day to contradict it. It is not in laboratories and test-tubes that the solution of this great enigma is to be found; but, as I think, in the nature of consciousness itself, and in the very depths of the human soul and the height to which the human intellect can soar. We owe to Sir Oliver Lodge, at the present day, the first really bold attempt to break the ice of scepticism. But Huxley too in his 'Hume' reminds us that 'the ultimate forms of existence which we distinguish in our little speck of the universe are, possibly, only two out of infinite variations of existence, not only analogous to matter and analogous to mind, but of kinds which we are not competent so much as to conceive, in the midst of which we might be set

down, with no more notion of what was about us than the worm in a flower-pot, on a London balcony, has of the life of the great city.

'But the speculative game is drawn—let us get to practical work.' Yes, let us work, and let us hope for the best. It is in the end in our own nature that we must seek to unravel the meaning of that great enigma of our own lives. But what ever it may be, 'we must bow to the inevitable,' as Napoleon bravely said, and seek happiness in the present. It is the *now* that concerns us most, and it is most probable that on that our future will depend.

The conception which I have put forward that the soul is an atom is not to be identified with the crude materialism of Haeckel, nor does it seem so far-fetched as the spiritualism of Lodge. It is in truth the monad of Leibnitz in a modern dress; and it emphasizes the insignificance of magnitude in space, in dealing with the idea of consciousness and human personality, showing thereby perhaps the true place man occupies in space and time.

JOHN BUTLER BURKE.

THE CHALLENGE OF SECULARISM

THE Bishop of Birmingham states an indisputable fact when he says that it would be 'hard to exaggerate the unsettlement of belief in many classes of society.'¹ Nor can it be doubted that in that unsettlement an active secularist propaganda has played an important part.

Up to the middle of last century anti-Christian effort can scarcely be said to have been organized. It had been sporadic, intermittent, personal. It is represented, in the history of the movement, by the names of Thomas Paine, Richard Carlile, Robert Taylor. With the advent upon the stage of George Jacob Holyoake, who gave to the cause the now familiar name of *secularism*, the effort to uproot Christianity, to discredit theistic dogma, and destroy the religious basis of life, entered upon an organized existence. Under his influence and leadership secular societies were formed between 1851 and 1857 in no less than thirty different centres.

A leader still more capable and (without uncharitableness, we may add) more violent and determined than Holyoake, made his appearance in the early sixties in the person of Charles Bradlaugh. From the time that Bradlaugh placed himself at the head of the movement there was a great change of policy. Hitherto the social question had held the first place, the religious question had been a secondary one. Holyoake was the apostle, before everything else, of the co-operative movement; consequently, his secularism was rather economic than anti-religious. With the militant atheism of Bradlaugh this order was reversed, and his name, in the mind of the public, has always, and rightly, been identified with the religious

¹ *New Theology and the Old Religion*, p. 205.

rather than the social question. Holyoake was not slow to recognize the facts of the situation, and the relations between the two leaders became increasingly strained. Their differences reached a climax in a two days' debate held in 1870—Holyoake defending the position that secularism is capable of asserting its own principles without directly assailing religious opinion—Bradlaugh, on the other hand (it must be confessed with more consistency), maintaining that Holyoake's utilitarianism being essentially and avowedly atheistic, it was impossible for him, without self-stultification, to assume an attitude of neutrality towards the Christian or any other religion.

Probably the secularist movement was never so strong in its *personal* element as when it was dominated by the commanding personalities of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant in the decade beginning in 1875. When, ten years later (in 1885), Mrs. Besant adopted socialist views (a step in which Bradlaugh refused to follow her), the close alliance between these two leaders of the secularist movement virtually ended; but the rupture was not complete until 1889, when Mrs. Besant deliberately turned her back upon former colleagues and opinions alike, and avowed herself a theosophist. There can be no doubt that Mrs. Besant's secession was, at the time, a severe blow to the cause of secularism. The very fact that the secular basis of life, which she had so ardently espoused, and so powerfully advocated, no longer satisfied her ideals and aspirations was not a little disconcerting to the disciples of Bradlaugh.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that the Press is now far more vigorous in the propagation of secularism than it was in the time of Bradlaugh's greatest activity. And in dealing with the efforts of the Press it is well that we should face the fact that, while all forms of religion are obnoxious to the avowed secularist, none is so much so as Christianity, for the simple reason that, of all religious systems, Christianity has the strongest hold upon the

civilized world. Christianity is to-day to the secularist what it was to the ancient historian, *exitiabilis superstitio*. 'Christianity,' to quote the words of one of their ablest writers, 'has all along played the part of a parasite upon civilized society, demanding nutriment, giving nothing in return, and securing the degradation of the organism on which it lives.' One rubs one's eyes as one reads, scarcely trusting one's powers of vision; but such are the deliberate sentiments of many with whom the Church has to deal at the present time. So far from religion itself being an integral and normal part of human nature, it is not even admitted to be an excrescence, but rather 'a foreign graft artificially inserted in the stock of humanity.' Every symptom of a religious tendency is to be regarded as a noxious weed, and to be dealt with accordingly. The main principle of secularism is not simply that religion, from first to last, is a delusion, but a mischievous delusion, as diverting thought and interest from a world of reality to a world which has no existence save in the imagination of those (to use their own words) 'whose intelligence is debauched by superstition.' The secularist, in brief, insists upon facing the problems of life without religious belief of any kind. All considerations arising from even the hypothetical existence of a Supreme Being are excluded. Indeed, the hypothesis itself is dogmatically negated.

Such then are the views of the secularist, urged with overbearing confidence, in very forcible language, and, in not a few cases, with much learning and acumen. At the present time several separate streams of literature embodying these opinions are freely circulating in the community, and are deeply affecting various strata of thought. *The Clarion*, with its weekly circulation of over eighty thousand, must, taken as a whole, be counted on the side of secularism. Every one is aware of its bitter attack upon Christianity, some years ago, in *God and my Neighbour*. It would, however, I believe, be a mistake to regard this organ of socialism as altogether anti-

religious, or pledged beyond recall against Christianity. Its quarrel, it seems to me, is much more with Christianity in the concrete, i.e. in its present form or forms, than with Christianity in the abstract. Many of Mr. Blatchford's warmest supporters felt that their master had gone too far in the articles on *God and my Neighbour*; and, as a matter of fact, there has been recently some modification of the secularism for which the paper was at one time conspicuous. Personally, I should hesitate now to class Mr. Blatchford with the secularists; and I doubt whether secularists pure and simple would acknowledge him as their colleague. At this very time there is a somewhat acute difference between the editor of *The Clarion* and Mr. G. W. Foote, the editor of *The Freethinker*. Mr. Foote's quick and watchful eye has detected, in recent utterances of *The Clarion*, a loophole by which the Christian religion (not many years since held up to scorn by Mr. Blatchford) may creep in and regain its lost authority. Whatever rights socialism may claim, it has no right, in Mr. Foote's opinion, to be Christian; and, until *The Clarion* clears itself from the suspicion of holding out the olive leaf to any form of Christianity, it will smart beneath the lash of *The Freethinker*.

Club Life, which has a very large circulation amongst the working class, is, like *The Clarion*, more practically than avowedly secularist. The overthrow of religion is no part of its official programme; but it is the mouthpiece of social democracy, and seeing that a vast proportion of social democrats are secularists, it is only natural that their official organ should represent the secular view of life. The tone of the paper is frankly pagan and materialistic. We look in vain through its pages for any such serious moral purpose as we find in *The Clarion*. *Club Life* might, *mutatis mutandis*, have been published in the Rome of Tiberius; *The Clarion* rather expresses a reaction against the travesty of a conventional Christianity.

The weekly journal most widely read, perhaps, by the working class, namely, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, is confi-

dently claimed by the advocates of 'free thought' (so called) as being on their side. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that it is generally read for the sake of its freethought tendency. It attracts by its radicalism, its raciness, and (we are compelled regretfully to add) by drawing largely on unpleasant and unedifying reports from the law courts.

The Freethinker, edited by Mr. G. W. Foote, President of the National Secular Society, from its first page to its last, never leaves any doubt as to its aim. That aim, from its inception, was, in the words of the editor, 'to wage relentless war against superstition in general and the Christian superstition in particular.' It avows a bitter hatred of Christianity, and, as one reads its pages, one involuntarily thinks of our Lord before His accusers—mocked, buffeted, spat upon. From indecency, in the sense of obscenity, *The Freethinker*, so far as I know, is happily free; and in this respect compares favourably with French journalism of similar aim. Short of this *The Freethinker* stops at nothing. In its ribald comments upon Scripture, its imputation of motives, especially of avarice, to ministers of religion, its bitter contempt for everything that the Christian, or even the theist, holds sacred, it would be impossible to outbid or outdo Mr. Foote; whilst his books and pamphlets are on a par with the worst of his work in *The Freethinker*. As an illustration of the old saying *corruptio optimi pessima*, it may be noted that amongst Mr. Foote's ablest colleagues on the editorial staff are an ex-Presbyterian and an ex-Baptist minister.

It would be a great mistake to describe the contents of this publication as so much literary garbage. Large portions deserve no better title; on the other hand, many of the more serious contributions evince no little erudition and acumen, as well as considerable power of literary expression. To Mr. Foote himself it is impossible to deny the two qualities which give to *The Freethinker* much of what popularity it enjoys; no one can doubt that he has

the courage of his opinions, or that he has an exceedingly forcible way of expressing them.

The Freethinker was started in 1881, and almost immediately began issuing its notorious comic Bible sketches, which cost Mr. Foote not only a term of imprisonment,¹ but also the countenance of some of the most influential supporters of secularism. Holyoake himself refused to be associated with colleagues who so grossly outraged the laws of courtesy, and treated things held sacred by an overwhelming majority of their countrymen with a ribaldry and profanity that shocked agnostic and atheist alike. Mr. Joseph McCabe (himself quite as far removed from Christian orthodoxy as Mr. Foote) has recently described these sketches as 'coarse, vulgar, and scurrilous to a lamentable extent.' These comic sketches were recommenced on Mr. Foote's release from prison and consequent resumption of editorship, but were soon discontinued; and this, without doubt, because they were too gross even for the average reader of *The Freethinker*.² Unfortunately, no improvement in the letter-press either accompanied or followed the discontinuance of the sketches. It is not easy to arrive at any certain estimate of the weekly circulation of this paper, but it is, I believe, rather under than over ten thousand. It is sad enough that there should be a demand, even to that extent, for literature of such quality.

Meanwhile, a far more serious and widely reaching attack upon religion is being made by the *Rationalist Press Association*, which, it should be distinctly understood, is

¹ It is notorious that there is a somewhat acute difference amongst 'Freethinkers' in regard to the laws against blasphemy. Those speaking roughly, represented by the National Secular Society, would have them completely repealed, and will make every effort in that direction; those on the other hand, again speaking generally, represented by the Rationalist Press Association would retain them as being calculated, without unduly restraining the propagation of free-thought, to secure moderation, decency, and courtesy in its expression.

² Mr. Foote's recent explanation that the sketches were dropped 'because we had worked the old book out' is, on the face of it, absurd.

a *propagandist*, not a *commercial*, undertaking. It started on its career in 1899, and is now advocating the cause of secularism with great energy and ability. Whether the R. P. A. would accept the title of *secularist* may be doubtful, but there is no doubt about the character of its work. It avows itself agnostic, but its efforts to undermine and overthrow established beliefs of every kind are scarcely less undisguised than those of the National Secular Society. Many of the books that it publishes and the lecturers it employs,¹ as well as the fact that George Jacob Holyoake was chairman of its directors until his death, leave no doubt upon this point.²

It must not, for a moment, be supposed that the rationalism of the R. P. A. is that of rationalistic theologians either on the Continent or in our own country. In spite of loud assertions to the contrary, the work of the Association is almost exclusively negative and destructive. It would be untrue to fact to characterize all its publications as directly subversive of religion, for they include writings of Darwin, Tyndall, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, and others, which could not be so described. At the same time the names of Haeckel, Renan, Cotter Morison, J. M. Robertson, Joseph McCabe, F. J. Gould, and Vivian Phelps³ are far more representative of the Society's operations. Its output of literature has steadily increased, and its sixpenny reprints place many able attacks upon religion within reach of the masses. Of these cheap reprints alone 120,601 copies were sold during the year 1907.⁴

¹ The three chief lecturers of R.P.A. are J. M. Robertson, Joseph McCabe, and Mrs. Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner.

² The present Board of Directors consists of the following gentlemen : Edward Clodd (Chairman), Charles A. Watts (Vice-Chairman), Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B., H. L. Broekstad, John S. Dryden, C. T. Gorham, J. H. Munday, George Macaulay Trevelyan, Percy C. Vaughan, Adam Gowans Whyte.

³ Better known by the *nom de plume* Philip Vivian, author of *The Churches and Modern Thought*.

⁴ Slightly below the sale of 1906. Meanwhile the demand has increased in India and the Colonies. From Bombay there was an order for 6,300 copies.

During the same period ten thousand copies of a shilling edition of Haeckel's *Evolution of Man* were disposed of. Amongst the latest publications of the Association are Joseph McCabe's *Life of George Jacob Holyoake*, and Philip Vivian's *The Churches and Modern Thought*. The issue of a series of penny hand-books is in contemplation, and will be taken in hand as soon as the financial position of the movement justifies the step. The social side of this propagandist scheme is as yet in its infancy, but the work in this direction is steadily increasing. Great efforts are also being made to find local secretaries, their function being to exercise influence in their own immediate neighbourhood. According to the Report for 1907, there are six of these honorary officers in London and its neighbourhood, and seventeen in the provinces. There are ten in India and the colonies, and five in foreign countries. The membership of the R. P. A. has steadily risen, year by year, from 94 in 1899 to 1,259¹ in 1907. Its financial condition is not its strongest point, and is, apparently, not without anxiety; but the subscriptions and donations (to our shame, be it said) amount to more than those received from all denominations of Christians by the Christian Evidence Society.²

If the operations of the R. P. A. grow in the same ratio in the second as in the first decade of its existence, it will mean, on the principle of supply and demand, a vast increase of intelligent, and educated, or semi-educated scepticism—a scepticism which may turn with disgust from much that appears in *The Freethinker*, or that issues from the Progressive Publishing Company under the auspices of the National Secular Society, but a scepticism as completely divorced from Christianity, or indeed any form of theism, as Haeckel or Büchner could wish. A glance through the pages of *The Literary Guide*, the monthly organ of the Association, will confirm the truth of this estimate.

¹ This aggregate includes a few subscribers who are not members.

² R. P. A., £884 3s. 11d. Christian Evidence Society, £859 4s. 1d.

To obviate any confusion that might arise upon the subject, it may be added that from politics and from socialistic schemes of life both the National Secular Society and the Rationalist Press Association keep rigidly aloof. Doubtless in England, as on the Continent, a large proportion of socialists, especially of social democrats, openly side with secularism; on the other hand, both the N. S. S. and the R. P. A. deprecate the identification of their principles with either social or political questions.

It is obviously beyond the limits of our space to institute any elaborate comparison between the secularist propaganda of England and that of other countries. Since, however, there exists something in the nature of an international confederacy (though of an informal character) amongst secularists, it may not be out of place or irrelevant to glance at the movement as pursued in some other parts of Europe.

In Germany the most important educational effort directly opposed to the Christian faith at the present moment is that of a body calling itself the German Monistic Society (*Monistenbund*), Professor Haeckel being Honorary President. It propagates a form of monism, based on the teaching of its President, which is intended to supplant Christianity. The literature of the Society is chiefly addressed to the educated and semi-educated, and has a considerable influence on the side of dogmatic and aggressive infidelity.

A still more determined crusade against every form of definite religion is carried on by the *Freidenkerbund* founded in Brussels in 1880, but spreading to Germany in 1887, in which year Charles Bradlaugh presided over an international congress of freethinkers in Berlin. It has an annual congress, a membership of about 6,000, and a fortnightly organ in the *Freidenker*. A Society with similar aims, and a membership of some twenty thousand, calls itself *The Friends of Light* (*Lichtfreunde*). Neither of these two societies, however, exercises any great influence.

The most serious anti-Christian power in Germany at

the present time is, without question, that wielded by social democracy, which has made such rapid progress of late years. The destruction of Christianity is not, indeed, part of its official programme, but so vast a proportion of social democrats have adopted anti-Christian opinions that the actual influence of the movement, as a whole, is definitely secularist. Believing that Christianity, at least in its present form or forms, is opposed to their conception of liberty, both political and social, they will make no terms with it as expressed in existing institutions, and practically range themselves on the side of the free-thinker. A saying which has become proverbial in this connexion is significant—'Religion is a private matter, atheism is a party matter.'

The Church is not idle in face of this propaganda. Social democracy is met by a Christian socialist movement, which has men of great distinction amongst its leaders; but the very fact of its being closely connected with the established Church, to a very great extent, neutralizes its influence. The monistic movement headed by Haeckel is opposed by a society called the *Keplerbund*—its object being to show that there is no necessary conflict between science and religion. It is reassuring to know that this counter-movement on the part of the Church has the support not only of theologians, but also of many distinguished men of science. On the other hand, scarcely any one of distinction has espoused the cause of the *Monistenbund*.

A new and notable effort of the Church in defence of the Christian religion is as yet in its infancy, but is likely to make rapid progress in the near future; namely, the appointment of well qualified apologists, whose work would be, alike in print, in the pulpit, and in the lecture hall, to place Christian truth in a reasonable up-to-date form before the public.

Meanwhile, there is promise of still more effectual resistance to anti-Christian effort in the religious revival now taking place in Germany. Doubtless secularism must

be met by argument and learning, but spiritual work must be done by spiritual weapons, and the strength of the Church, whether for propagation or counter-action, depends more upon genuine spirituality and loyalty to Christ, than upon any other equipment.¹

If we turn from Germany to France, we are at once struck by the contrast of the relation of the State to religion in the two countries. The frankly agnostic attitude (to say nothing more)² of the French Government, has done much to deliver the people into the hands of the secularists, who hold a menacingly strong position, especially in the urban population. It has been stated on good authority that eight millions of the French people are professed atheists. The secularist propaganda in Paris and other large towns is both active and unscrupulous. Anticlerical and atheistic literature abounds, some of it polluted by obscenity and lewdness, from which English free-thought publications are happily free. In theory, the freethinkers in France, as in England, make no distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant, impartially assailing all Christian belief. At the same time, as a matter of fact, the Roman Catholic Church, as being the Church of the people, bears the brunt of the attack.

The counter-movement is chiefly, but by no means exclusively, conducted by the Roman Catholics. Very able work is done by conferences in Nôtre Dame and in the Church of St. Roch, the former with a view to reach the educated, the latter the uneducated. The lecturers are fully qualified for their task and attract very large audiences. Meanwhile, the Press is extensively used by powerful controversialists in a bold attempt to grapple

¹ For the information here given in regard to secularist work in Germany, the writer is indebted to the great kindness and courtesy of the Rev. Newton A. Marshall, Ph.D., M.A., who has made a special study of the subject.

Even as this is written, the Education Department of France is engaged in the work of obliterating from books authorized for school use the few remaining references to religion and religious associations.

with popular scepticism. In particular, their treatment of the apparent conflict between religion and science is very complete and forcible. Without, in the least, disparaging the excellent work of this kind done in England, it may be confidently stated that we have nothing in our language to compare, for comprehensiveness and weight, with the 300 books on *Science and Religion*, published at sixty centimes the volume, by Bloud et Cie. Many of the subjects discussed are, as might be expected, viewed from the Roman standpoint, but some are treated on a broader basis. It may be added that some of these treatises have been translated into English.¹

We should not draw attention to Spain (where, however, secularism, frequently allied with social democracy and anarchism, is very active), but for the fact that, in that country, a prominent feature of the anti-Christian movement is the *Escuela Moderna*, established at Barcelona by Francesco Ferrer in 1900. From Barcelona this system of education has spread to many parts of the country, and appears likely to spread further. The *Escuela Moderna* works on the assumption that the religious principle is foreign to the mind of the child, who is purely the creation of his surroundings and upbringing. All religious teaching is rigidly excluded. 'The mysteries of existence' (to use their own language) 'are resolved into their physical equivalents, so that the footholds which magic and miracle require are scientifically and unceremoniously swept away.' The founder of the system is confident that were such a type of education to become universal, religion, in these days of scientific enlightenment, would in the course of time die out. There is no doubt that secularist opinions are making progress in Spain, and the decadent condition of religion throughout the country, so strongly emphasized in two well-

¹ The writer would gratefully acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. Frederick C. Spurr in supplying most of the facts here given as to the work of the secularists in France.

informed articles in *The Times* last September, gives the *Escuela Moderna* its opportunity.

Such then, in brief, is the challenge of secularism. The Church is face to face with a determined enemy, an enemy, moreover, which, it cannot be denied, is gaining ground. Those who are acquainted with the history and present phase of the movement would, I feel confident, unanimously agree that it ought to be confronted more strenuously and systematically than hitherto.¹ I know that much has been done and well done. The Christian Evidence Society does a noble work, but could do much greater things if more generally and generously supported. The Wesleyan Church has recently shown its wisdom in appointing, as Apologetic Lecturer, Dr. Frank Ballard, who, by books and lectures alike, has for many years been doing much to supply the need of the hour. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Religious Tract Society (unfortunate name for such a controversy!) have long, and to good purpose, made Christian Evidences a special department of their work. Some of our most eminent publishers have issued cheap reprints of apologetic literature.² But until the whole Christian Church is awakened to the danger which is now threatening the cause of religion, nothing adequate to the occasion

¹ See *Christian Churches and the Modern Outlook*, p. 10, by Dr. Ballard. This pamphlet, full of information and counsel, should be circulated far and wide.

² In October 1903 the subject was introduced at the Winchester Diocesan Conference in a well-informed and forcible address by Dr. Fearon, Archdeacon of Winchester. It is much to be regretted that the decision of Conference was against appointing a committee to deal with the matter. Under the able guidance of Archdeacon Fearon such a Committee might have done good service both in the dissemination of knowledge and in counteracting the movement. Just at the same time (Oct. 1903) an admirable article appeared in *The Guardian* from the pen of the Rev. Arthur E. T. Newton. The article might well have formed the starting-point of a thorough discussion; but, so far as I remember, it was not followed up. It must be added that, for reasons best known to itself, *The Guardian* dismissed the four papers on *Secularist Propaganda*, read at the Manchester Church Congress last October, together with the discussion that followed, in about a dozen lines.

will be done. What place had this determined attack upon the Faith in the programme of the Pan-Anglican Congress? So far as my observation went, the subject would not have been directly touched at all but for the timely intervention of Mr. Faithfull Davies, the Clerical Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society.¹ The secularists themselves profess to be amazed at the general inaction of Christians, and taunt them with the silence of their guns whilst, as they boast, the citadel of faith is being demolished by the batteries of unbelief. The Church needs her best thought and her best men for the task that is before her. Continental rationalism, of which we hear so much, finds readers and makes converts amongst the cultured, but leaves the masses untouched. Meanwhile, the masses are being rapidly leavened by the far more radical and destructive scepticism with which we have been dealing.

Approaching the subject as one convinced that the welfare and true progress of the world are bound up with Christianity, I have not hesitated to speak strongly of the aims and views of the secularist. At the same time, the last thing I wish to do is to foster the impression, still widely prevailing, that those who are responsible for this movement are necessarily men of doubtful, if not dangerous, moral character. Many advocates of secularism are, on the contrary, persons of the very highest integrity, strictly loyal to what they honestly believe to be truth and duty. The late George Jacob Holyoake was a typical specimen of many who oppose, and bitterly oppose, the Christian faith. He was an avowed atheist, and the inventor of the now familiar terms, *secularism*, *secularist*. He wrote *Theism on its Trial*, and many other books, with the direct aim of discrediting every form of

¹ I would take the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the kindness and courtesy both of the Rev. R. V. Faithfull Davies, Secretary, and of Mr. Robert Thomson, Assistant Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society, in supplying many of the facts embodied in this article.

religion. Yet his personal character put to shame that of many professing Christians. It is, indeed, a matter of the first importance that, in this controversy, we should understand the position of our opponents, so as to avoid unfairness in dealing with them. What, for example, was Holyoake's position? On intellectual grounds he had abandoned, first Christianity, then theism. He could, therefore, get no help from theology, since for him it did not exist. 'Secularism,' to use his own words, 'is a policy of life to those who do not accept theology.' A utilitarian basis of life, he would argue (did argue), is better than no basis, and secularism may help where religion cannot because it fails of recognition. Now this (however deeply we may regret and disapprove) is a perfectly reasonable position, and we have no right whatever to treat it with impatience or scorn. It is, indeed, undeniable that secularists do not themselves always express their views with moderation and courtesy. Their language is often contemptuous and bitter; some will go out of their way to be offensive. But let us think of this as rather the fault of the individual than of the system; and if we have sometimes to complain of injustice, let them have no just cause for the same complaint; of all men Christians should be the last to render railing for railing. Speaking generally, however, we are dealing with honourable men, worthy of our sincere respect—not a few of them men of learning and ability, worthy of the best apologetics that the Church can furnish.

It is not my present aim specifically to examine the teaching of secularism, or indicate, even by way of suggestion, the best modes of counteracting it. Such an attempt would carry us far beyond the limits of this article.¹ What, however, I will, in conclusion, venture to do is to express the reluctant, but firm conviction, that much of the success of secularism is due to the unfaithful-

¹ These aspects of the subject were briefly treated by the present writer in a paper read at the Manchester Church Congress last October.

ness of the Church—unfaithfulness, I mean, to her ideals.

In dealing with secularism, as with socialism, we must be ready to make a clean breast of mistakes and shortcomings, which have gone far to justify the hostility of secularist and socialist alike. The Church of Christ must set her own house in order before she will be in a position effectually to oppose the advancing tide of rationalism and materialism. The last Bampton Lecturer but one¹ contended (and I think successfully) that an ideal Christianity is the only system of religion or philosophy that can satisfy the democratic aspirations of the age. His immediate successor, Canon Peile, demonstrated with startling clearness that the average Christianity of to-day, so far from being ideal, is scarcely worthy of the name. 'It is a hard saying, but a wholesome one, that the great majority of mankind have, for centuries, done everything with the moral rule of the Gospel, except obey it. . . . They have shaped and trimmed it to fit into a corner of an otherwise pagan existence.'² Again, 'We believe and we admire, and remain on the whole personally as unconcerned as David while he listened to Nathan telling his story.'³ In the days of Nero and Domitian, the most striking of all contrasts was that between Christian and pagan; to-day it is rather between the theory and practice of the Church.

The Church's ideals—what are they? *Self-sacrifice, holiness, unity.*

Self-sacrifice. The life of the Church should proclaim more loudly and clearly than it does that Christianity is not a self-saving, but a self-sacrificing system. There has been 'too much acceptance of ideals that have all been tuned down to the pitch of worldly comfortableness.'⁴ 'It

¹ Dr. F. W. Bussell. *Christian Theology and Social Progress*. Bampton Lectures, 1905.

² *The Reproach of the Gospel*, p. 21. Bampton Lecture, 1907.

³ *Ibid.* p. 163.

⁴ *Atonement and Personality*, R. C. Moberly, D.D., p. 306.

is a terrible thing when the nominal Christianity of society bears witness against the truth of the Christian creed.¹ Until the Church, as a whole, throws herself, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, into the cause of social reform, and that on a very comprehensive scale, she is neglecting her work and stultifying her mission. Nothing can justify the coarse and scurrilous tone of *The Freethinker*; on the other hand, we must not forget that much of its violence is directed against a counterfeit Christianity, which is sadly too much in evidence. In much of the professed Christianity of the day there is so little of the supernatural that the theory of naturalism gains support where it should find its refutation. *The Clarion* is rash and reckless in its invective; but who that faces the social problems of the age can wonder that strong language is used by, or on behalf of, the miserable victims of economic principles which Christ would be the first to condemn?

Holiness. A lofty moral ideal can be taught and practised by the secularist; but for him there is no such thing as holiness, since its very existence is bound up with the theism which he denies. The highest morality apart from God is not Christian morality. The realization of a Personal God revealed in Jesus Christ as a loving, but all-holy, Father, placed a great gulf between Seneca and Paul; it places the same gulf between a George Jacob Holyoake and a Frederick Denison Maurice. And who shall measure the persuasive, subjugating power of personal holiness? True it is that the claims of God, whether in respect of morality or holiness, are an offence to the natural man; yet it is equally true that personal holiness asserts a power all its own wherever, and in whomsoever, found. It is told of the famous Lord Peterborough, brilliant, voluptuous, sceptical, that after spending some days in the company of Archbishop Fénelon, he said, 'I must leave this, or, in spite of myself, I shall

¹ *Atonement and Personality*, p. 300.

become a Christian.' Secularism never has solved, never will solve, the mystery of personal holiness.

Unity. The disunion of the Church is the strength of secularism. The 'vision of unity' is a vision of returning power. It was the vision that rose before the mind of our Lord as He pleaded for His Church—'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee; that they also may be one in Us; *that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.*'¹ The world is waiting for the 'vision of unity' to become a fact of history. If Christians could sink all minor differences, all that is not essential to the Faith, and take their united stand upon the truth of the Incarnation, and all that that truth necessarily carries with it, how infinitely more powerful would the Church of Christ be to oppose that rising tide of practical materialism which has long been clearing the way for the forces of avowed secularism!

Let the Church live up to her ideals, and she will be equipped for her work and conflict as in the days of the Apostles and early Fathers when, in every direction, she was conquering the thought and life of the world.

G. S. STREATFEILD.

¹ John xvii. 20, 21.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF IMMORTALITY

MAN is essentially social. Only as a member of society he comes into being; only as a member of society does he attain well-being. The social group to which he belongs may be large or small, but apart from some social group he is in an unnatural condition. His social instinct, however, is not restricted to human beings alone. It stretches beyond the men, the women, and the children with whom he is by birth or by adoption associated. It extends to the animals beneath him; it descends to what we call the inanimate. The sense of social sympathy which poets find in trees and rocks and streams, and which now claims some colour of scientific countenance, seems to have been everywhere present with man. The same social consciousness pointed upward as well as downward. It claimed as its companions the supersensuous and the superhuman. It felt God, however named, to be as much a member of the social group, however small, as was mother, father, clansman, chief. As Life or Lord, as Defender or Disposer, the various forms of the Divine were held to be part and parcel of the community. So religion is but a fuller utterance of the social nature of man. Fellowship, however disguised in barbarous and even brutal customs, is the essence of man; and, however veiled or clouded by terror or shame, is the vital nerve of religion.

So religion is as universal as man. There is something awe-inspiring in the endeavour to look at the human race as a whole. One takes up this globe of ours in the fingers of thought, and surveys its past and present as a unit, and with the sight there comes a feeling of holy shyness. Yet one cannot fail to see one great outstanding fact of the human species. It is nowhere without a religion, a sense of subordinate companionship with

beings other than itself and possessing other powers than its own. This universal characteristic has been set down by some noisy votaries of evolutionary science as an excrescence, a transient illusion, a chapter in mental pathology. It belongs not to the pathology, but rather to the embryology of the race.

Another fact scarcely, if at all, less universal which has its roots deep in the same spiritual soil, is the prevalence of a belief, clear or shadowy, in a life beyond death. It is an abiding marvel that, in spite of all the obvious and abhorrent phenomena of death—the cessation of movement, the absence of response, the loathsome processes of decay—there has been maintained unconquered through the ages a confidence in continued existence beyond the grave. The argument of the senses was strong against it. It was in existence and power long before metaphysical reflection could have supplied it with speculative basis. Nor could it have sprung from the full-bodied sense of individuality, which is one of the latest growths of time. Recognition of an after-life, like the recognition of Deity, is an expression of the imperious social instinct of human nature. Fellowship would not be thwarted or interrupted by any line drawn between what we call sensuous and what we call super-sensuous. The God was in the group, the dead were in the group. It may have been, as many have imagined, that a sense of the dead within the group first stirred the sense of the God within the group. Ancestor-worship, as we call it, was a step in the evolution of religion. Yet how that ancestor-worship reveals the essentially social nature of the primitive belief in immortality! It was companionship, timid, awed, reverent, but still companionship, with father and mother no longer embodied as of old, but present and potent to harm or bless. It was an instinct for the continuity, not of individuality, but of fellowship, that made men refuse to see in death the cessation of life. It is a wonderful fact that in spite of all the ravages wrought by rationalistic individualism, there are still to-day on the

earth's surface an overwhelming majority of millions who include within their regular social circle the spirits of their fathers and forefathers. Family fellowship remains unbroken, though of course not undimmed, by death. The home, however rude, has proved itself stronger than the grim shadow of severance. We have been recently and forcibly reminded how social cohesion within a nation is intensified by the collective recognition of ancestors as an integral portion of the national life. The belief of the Japanese in another life, a belief which made them capable of the most splendid heroism on the field of battle, derived its strength as well as its origin from a living sense of the companionship of the dead. The attribution of their military and naval triumphs to the virtue of their ancestors was no piece of sanctimonious cant. It was the transcript of a national conviction. The veneration of the dead, which superficial Western civilization had affected to despise as a barbarous superstition, has revealed itself in the lurid light of war as the triumphant faith of a civilized race.

The faith that looks through death derives its strength not from the weird speculations of Plato or the overstrung raptures of the ascetic. It draws its life from the homely sources of filial reverence and fear and love. The home circle could not believe the father utterly extinguished, nor the mother wholly gone, when the change called death passed over the scene. The clansman could not believe that the chieftain whose word and glance of command had so often led him in fight or foray had wholly ceased to be. The aged men whose counsels had for more than a generation guided the policy of the tribe, had become too completely a part of the corporate life to perish wholly when their bodies were put into the grave or cast upon the pyre. It was the social bond, however developed, by dread of authority, by appreciation of co-operative defence, by kinship, by loyalty, or in its purest essence by love, which refused to confess itself vanquished by death. In haunting presences, or in shadowy underworld, in

unseen direction of battle or in far distant abodes of the blest, those that had been, were still; companionship with them had been clouded, suspended, postponed, but never completely destroyed.

With Jesus Christ religion appears in its truth and entirety, and it appears as essentially fellowship. It is the kingdom of God, wherein God with man and man with man in God progressively attain to perfect unity of life. It is the kingdom of God which is love active, explicit, organized. Religion in its preliminary and preparatory forms had been a preparatory and preliminary circumvention of death. Religion in its fullness and truth in Jesus Christ abolished death, and poured a tropical light of certainty on life and immortality. Love, scattered and diffused through all forms of social life, had questioned and challenged the seeming severance of death. Love concentrated and incarnate in Jesus Christ was the annihilation of death. Love in its milder forms cannot credit the cessation of intercourse that death seems to assert. Love in its quintessential depths builds Christendom on the certainty of a risen Christ. The kingdom of God, once it appears, is the transference of resurrection from the category of inquiry, conjecture, hope, into realized certainty. The persistent sense of kinship is raised to such a power as to deny completely its severance. The fellowship becomes so close and strong as to make the continuity of fellowship inevitable.

The new social consciousness of the kingdom of God created by the logic of its own imperious life the facts of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is strange that, amongst all the methods of approach to the credibility of the narratives of the Resurrection, such slight attention has been paid to the way opened up by the Christian consciousness itself. The new power to which Jesus Christ raised the death-defying social consciousness of the race ought surely to supply its own clue to His supreme victory over death. The social experience which His grace has wrought in the lives of His followers cannot be without its value in providing a key to those mysterious appear-

ances of the risen Christ. The Christian religion has its own witness to fellowship with the dead. The veneration of the dead which prevails amid the undeveloped millions of the heathen world has not ceased, reaches rather its fuller realization in the perfect faith of Christ. We need to be on our guard against the Protestant reaction from the excesses of hagiolatry. The love and reverence which Jesus created in His Church are stronger than any love or reverence that has been created elsewhere, and have consequently with stronger stride stepped over the frontiers of death. If the simple unsophisticated hearts of numberless believers in all Christian ages were to tell their story, without fear of ecclesiastical restriction or exaggeration, there would be a chorus of testimony, overwhelming in its unconscious strength, to actual personal fellowship with the loved ones who have passed within the veil. Not dreamy vapourings of undisciplined and ineffective sentiment, but living contact of soul on soul at crucial crises, with potent, far-reaching, practical effect, would be confessed and confirmed. The hand of the Christ touches our dead still, and they live again to us. The deeper the love, the purer the soul; the sounder the mind, the more unhesitating and convincing is the declaration. We recall Tennyson's invocation to his deceased friend in *In Memoriam*:

Be near me when my light is low . . .
Be near me when the sensuous frame
 Is racked with pangs . . .
Be near me when my faith is dry . . .
Be near me when I fade away . . .
Be near us when we climb or fall:
 Ye watch, like God, the rolling hours
 With larger other eyes than ours,
To make allowance for us all.

And again:

How pure at heart and sound in head,
 With what divine affections bold
 Should be the man whose thought would hold
An hour's communion with the dead.

With a deeper finger Browning touches the heart of fellowship between living and dead in the invocation to his wife at the opening of *The Ring and the Book*:

O lyric Love, half angel and half bird,
And all a wonder and a wild desire,
 . . . Can thy soul know change?
Hail then, and hearken from the realms of help!
Never may I commence my song, my due
To God who best taught song by gift of thee,
Except with bent head and beseeching hand—
That still, despite the distance and the dark,
What was, again may be; some interchange
Of grace, some splendour once thy very thought,
Some benediction anciently thy smile:
Never conclude, but raising hand and head
Thither where eyes, that cannot reach, yet yearn
For all hope, all sustainment, all reward,
Their utmost up and on,—so blessing back
In those thy realms of help, that heaven thy home,
Some whiteness which, I judge, thy face makes proud,
Some wanness where, I think, thy foot may fall!

But the Christ has created a larger family than can be found in any home. He has begotten spiritual ancestors whose progeny is as countless as the sands. And the veneration of the spiritual ancestor is an indisputable feature of His Church. The flock from whom the pastor has in visible flesh been withdrawn, find in his spiritual presence continued inspiration and guidance. The Church founded by an Apostle feels that though he is absent in the body he is present in the spirit, judging and directing still. The order that has sprung into being under the creative and quickening touch of a Saint Francis feels the impulse of his devotion thrilling through its multitudinous lives, and not through the lives of one generation alone. Christendom has built into its most historic creed, the Apostolicum, its realized experience of 'the Communion of the Saints.' The Saints of Christendom, canonized or uncanonized, are, next to the Lord Himself, its chiefest glory. Who fails to see and revere them is

blind indeed. And the response which their illustrious imitation of the Christ has called forth from the Christian commonalty is another fact, obvious and unassailable, that glorifies the chequered annals of Christendom. These facts are all the more remarkable because of the strangely inconsistent eschatologies which have assayed to rule the thought of Christendom. The sleep in Jesus, the pause between the hour of death and the anticipated resurrection, the intermediate habitation of the sainted dead, the beliefs in purifying discipline beyond the grave, have none of them availed to break the sense of persistent fellowship between the living and the so-called dead. The love which is the great creation of our Lord has itself been the eyes and ears of conversation with the Unseen. Death as it is generally understood is an intolerable affront and contradiction to the love that Christ inspires. The sting of death is sin, and for death, as for sin, love has no quarter. So far as it is severance, so far as it is the rupture of the fellowship for which we were made and trained, it is emphatically that which ought not to be. And where love reaches its fuller life, death is not.

Now take these experiences, personal, domestic, ecumenical, and bring them back to the crucial Death of Christ. In His earthly career He was the Love of God incarnate. He created a passion of love that has been the tropical sunlight of all our human history ever since. He bound the hearts of men to Him with cords of such intimate affection that they could but stammer forth that henceforth it was not they, but He that lived in them. He Himself lived in the large freedom of the love that knows not death. The Father in whose bosom He dwelt was to him the utter negation of death. A glorious apotheosis of ancestor-worship finds itself expressed in His answer to the challenge of the Sadducees, 'God is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to Him.' Fellowship with the heroes of Israel's remotest past was to him an obvious platitude, and in full accord with that calm vision

of the Unseen we have the record of the Mount of Transfiguration, when the severance of the ages was wiped out and Moses and Elijah joined in conversation with Him about the exodus that He was to accomplish in Jerusalem. Ever about Him was the consciousness of angelic presence. Twelve legions of angels were at His command, and in His deepest agony an angel stood by Him comforting Him. And in this large love that looked through death He lived, He grappled to His soul with hooks of steel responsive souls; and then, amidst every accompaniment of ignominy and pain, they saw Him die.

Now come back to our own small experiences. A pith ball beside a ball of lead is trivial compared with the solar system; but it illustrates the law of gravitation that governs both. There is one experience connected with the death of friends so common as to be no longer dismissed as incredible. At or about the time of the death of one friend, he appears to some near friend who may be half a world away. A mother wakes in the night declaring that her sailor boy has come home; she has seen him. Months afterwards she finds that he was drowned at sea that night. If such incidents as these be common, is it conceivable that the greatest Person in history, who had wound Himself round the very hearts of His followers, would not appear to them after the first blinding blow of His Crucifixion had passed? Even now, in some great agony of public crisis, a publicist is made conscious of the presence of his dead father and mother, who lay commands on him: and his whole public career, aye, and the policy of his country, is changed in consequence. How many a man is now in the pulpit who was summoned from his secular pursuits by the unmistakable presence of a sainted mother, acting as messenger of the Christ to him! How many a man in some inner struggle has been warned by one whom he recognized as father, or mother, or sister, long gone into the eternal silence! These are objective facts of dynamic import, with most practical effects in altered life. Rising from these infinitesimal lives to the

greatest Life of all, is it not infinitely more likely that He would appear to His disciples in the agony of their great crises, that He would impress Himself upon them, that He would lay the great commands upon them which should change their life and the life of the world?

Through the deep fellowship which He has created, we know that souls can touch, irrespective of distance, that in great joy or great sorrow or in great need, soul is present with soul though their bodies be a thousand miles apart. Are we not forced to concede that in the great sorrow of His disciples and in their great need, the Christ would be present with them, despite the distance and the dark?

Nor is it hard to understand that, with the presence of the personal reality, would be given at first also the personal appearance. Even in our homely experience, through the intensity of the love which He has inspired, and of the passion to help that is His direct creation, two souls with bodies miles apart do even now become so near that one almost feels the touch, the flutter, the shimmer of form that attests the presence of the other. The consciousness of personal presence is so vivid that the corresponding sensations begin to appear. The creative action of the mind present in every act of sense-perception is, we may be sure, not less active when person touches on person in the real atmosphere of soul. The witness to objectivity in both the usual and unusual acts of sense-perception is clear. So when the supreme Personality bore full upon the souls of His disciples to breathe upon them and into them new life and power, is it not more than conceivable that the appropriate sensations of sight and hearing and touch would be present too? Remember that we are dealing, even in our own experience, with objective facts, with the real impact of soul on soul, with the real transmission of counsel, warning, help. Such are the ways of love. Such are the ways of the love which the Christ has created. Working backwards from the facts seen in our own lives to the great fountal cause, we can see how the fellowship

which Jesus created did most objectively create the faith in His Resurrection from the dead. Howsoever approached, the fact remains. These pages have but advanced hints and suggestions from a survey of the essentially social nature of religion and of the faith in immortality towards the supreme and decisive triumph over death.

These are chapters belonging, not to the pathology, but to the embryology of the race. Already the full birth of the race to a life that knows no death is hastening on. Already even our secular schools pronounce humanity, through all its ocean-sundered continents, one organism. Accelerated steamships, daily journalism, cablegrams, Marconigrams, telepathy, conspire to produce throughout the organism of mankind a simultaneity of consciousness, of sentiency, which attest the vital unity within. The central sensorium, the personal unity which secular philosophy denies to this colossal organism, the Christian faith supplies, and sees in humanity unified, evangelized, co-vivified, the growing body of our Lord. Separation in space is surmounted, if not nullified, by the appliances of modern science and the more electric response of an ecumenical sympathy. Separation in time is beginning to waver before the fullness of the indwelling life. The Christ becomes more and more apparent as the personal life of co-existent humanity. Not so vividly, perhaps, but not less surely, He is making Himself known as the personal unity of humanity successive, in its series of generations. The veil of death is fluttering ere it rises and discloses Him as the Organism including the dead as well as the living. Them upon whom it seems to our sense-bound life there has fallen an unwaking sleep, God will bring with Him. In unnumbered homes east and west, father and mother, though enveloped in the mist of death, still live on, a presence of mingled awe and joy to their children. In vast communities loyal disciples feel themselves still under the living spell of a leader long since withdrawn from the stage of earth. Slowly the Freedom of the City of the Dead will be conferred upon all the living,

the barriers of time as well as of space will dissolve in the circling life-blood of the Saviour. The race, past and present, will have attained unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. Some day the sudden consciousness will flash across the ages and across the continents swift as the lightning which, coming forth from the east, is seen even unto the west, that He who is our Life is manifest. Then the Presence is perceived; the parousia is declared.

F. HERBERT STEAD.

THE UNIFICATION OF BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

A Review of the Present Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies. Printed by authority. [A Memorandum by THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SELBORNE, G.C.M.G., P.C., &c.] (The Government of South Africa. Cape Town, 1908.)

IT is just fifty years since that great Pro-Consul, Sir George Grey, fell into disgrace with the Imperial Government because he saw visions and dreamed dreams, and took steps to push forward plans for the closer union of our South African colonies. Those who are curious in such matters can read the whole story in the contemporary documents, in particular in *The correspondence connected with the recall and reappointment of Sir George Grey*. The very title of that Blue-book is significant, and gives the key to much of the trouble that has arisen in connexion with South African affairs. The phrase 'recall and reappointment' is illustrative of many transactions which lead one writer to speak of 'a century of vacillation.'

Half a century after Sir George Grey's recall Lord Selborne publishes his masterly and searching Memorandum, and sends a copy to each of the South African Governments for consideration. It is worse than useless now to dwell regretfully upon what might have been if Sir George Grey had not been half a century in advance of the Government of the day; but it surely requires no very vivid imagination to picture some of the beneficial results that would have followed the adoption of Grey's policy in 1858. Whatever mistakes imagination may make in her attempts to construct a hypothetical history, it is quite impossible to believe that the intervening years would not have been much happier, much more prosperous, less deeply stained with blood. But Sir George Grey,

like Sir Bartle Frere and other able and devoted public servants, was pushed aside, leaving later generations to discover and admire the wisdom of his policy, the breadth of his statesmanship, the loftiness of his ideal, as well as to understand and revere the singleness of his aim and the absolute faithfulness of his service.

It may be desirable to sketch, briefly and in barest outline, the present most extraordinary position, and to indicate the main historical causes which have so completely and effectually divided a country which Nature so manifestly intended to be one. For the colonies of South Africa are not separated from each other by any great natural and inevitable barriers. No Alpine range rises into an impassable boundary, nor is there any great river, south of the Zambesi, which is suggestive of any easy and effective frontier. Nor is there a racial line of division. It is true that we have two great white races, but they are intermingled geographically; and there is no section of the country which does not contain a considerable and influential element of the race that happens to be in a minority in that particular locality. It is quite possible to exaggerate the facts of racial and lingual differences. We must not be misled by instances which are only apparently parallel, as the relation of the English to the Irish, or of the French to the English in the dominion of Canada. The Irish live on an island which, until recent years, was absolutely cut off from England so far as the masses of the people were concerned. The English and French in Canada have their own provinces, and are separated by history, by race, and most of all by religion. Where both of the parties are strongly Protestant, as in South Africa, one of the most effective agents for the promotion of permanent aloofness is altogether wanting. In these post-war days there is a strained feeling which in this generation will continue to accentuate primal differences; but no deliberate or artificial attempts to prevent racial fusion can be wholly or permanently successful. The common school, the associations of commerce, the amenities of

social life, will more and more break down the barriers which national pride and sensitiveness have been too ready to set up and too eager to maintain. Human nature has its affinities as well as its antipathies, and, in this instance, time will be in favour of the former.

Then how stands it with this great country which ought to be one? The answer to that question reveals a state of affairs which can hardly have a parallel. At the present moment we have no fewer than *eleven* separate colonies and protectorates lying side by side, each forming a part of the British Empire, each being quite independent of every other. The following is a complete list of these eleven territories: Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, Barotseland, N.E. Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland Protectorate.

It is obviously impossible, within present limits, to trace the various and successive steps by which these vast areas came under British rule, though a careful and detailed study of that history is simply invaluable as a key to the understanding of the difficulties and complexities of the problem that now faces responsible men in South Africa. Only by such a course of study shall we be saved from a too hasty and unreasoning condemnation of the past, from rash generalizations in the present, from unwise arrangements for that new and happier future which now opens out before the eyes of an expectant country.

Beginning with the final occupation of the Cape by the British, we can trace the gradual expansion and development of Cape Colony until, with its boundaries carefully delimited, it received its charter of full responsible government in the year 1872.

The Great Trek of 1836-8 has had a wide and far-reaching influence, which can now be traced and understood in the light of the later history. Into the causes that led the emigrant Boers to break away from British rule we must not enter; but the fact remains that large parties pressed northward till they eventually passed both the Orange and the Vaal rivers. A large section of the people

turned eastward and entered Natal. It was the indirect result of the same spirit that hurried on the annexation of British Bechuanaland as at an earlier date the settlement of Basutoland had been forced upon the Imperial Government in the same way. No doubt the possibilities of further movements northward were present to the mind of Cecil Rhodes when he succeeded in pushing the British boundary to the Zambesi and beyond, at one stroke adding to our territories a country larger than the whole of France. But we anticipate. Natal was raised to the rank of a self-governing colony by the Constitution Act of 1893. In this case an important reservation was made, which is clearly and fully set forth in the following extract from the Royal Instructions which were issued to the Governor of Natal on July 20, 1893 :

VI. Before exercising the powers of supreme chief (of all native tribes) other than those by law vested in the Governor-in-Council, the Governor shall acquaint his ministers with the action which he proposes to take, and as far as may be possible, shall arrange with them as to the course of action to be taken. The ultimate decision must, however, in every case, rest with the Governor.

The recent history of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony is fresh in the minds of all our readers, and need not be recapitulated here.

In reference to such a congeries of colonies as we find in South Africa, two questions of first-rate importance will arise and clamour for an answer. In the first place, we must determine the exact relation of the Imperial Government to the whole group and to each member of the group. British colonial administration has been characterized by some astonishing features, by strange inconsistencies, by sudden and unaccountable reversals of declared policy. It is a common complaint in the colonies that imperial interests are too much affected by the exigencies of party government, and no doubt there is some ground for the complaint. But government by party is a firmly established order in Great Britain, and is likely to continue, with such advantages and drawbacks as it may possess;

and while that is so, there are bound to be modifications and revisions of policy from time to time. Nevertheless, continuity is the one thing essential in the administration of colonial affairs; and that is especially true in regard to all questions affecting the government of the more backward races. It has unfortunately happened that again and again these have been the very matters where continuity has been most lacking. But in view of the best traditions of British foreign policy, and of the success with which the affairs of the Indian Empire have been kept out of the party arena, it ought not to be an impossible task to remove colonial interests more and more from the sphere of mere party interests.

But when all such complaints have been fully recorded, when all the necessary deductions and qualifications have been made, it must be stoutly maintained that British statesmen have faced and solved many of the most difficult problems of over-sea colonization with a success that cannot be easily matched. The correlation of local autonomy with strong attachment to the empire; the harmonization of freedom and restraint, of independence and loyalty; the treatment of the intermittent friction that will inevitably arise between youth and age—in matters such as these there is a splendid record of which we may well be proud. What failure has to be remembered is largely due to a peculiar cause. The British colonial statesman has a wealth and variety of experience to draw upon which is absolutely unrivalled, and this has often been to him a source of real danger. With such a wealth of precedent there has often come the temptation to apply it without due regard to the new and different conditions, which may make the well-known example no real precedent at all.

The second great question has to do with the relation of these colonies to each other. Surely no one can be satisfied with the present intolerable situation. It may be doubted whether any thoughtful man ever has been quite satisfied; hence we find that through all the seemingly hopeless confusions and intricacies of South African

history there is shot, like a golden thread, the hope and the eager desire for ultimate union.

The need for closer union is apparent to the most casual observer, and the considerations that make it so imperative fall easily and naturally into two categories: those which distinctly affect imperial interests, and those which are local and national—if a proleptic use of the latter term may be allowed.

No colony, or group of colonies, can live unto itself; and matters will constantly emerge which have their imperial aspects. Suddenly, and in some remote corner of one of our smallest colonies, some transaction may raise issues which justly alarm the statesmen responsible for the safety and well-being of the whole. We have had a striking instance of this in the Asiatic question which has so fiercely agitated the Transvaal during the last two or three years. Shall the Indian trader be allowed to enter the Transvaal and set up a competition with the white merchant in which the latter is said to be hopelessly handicapped from the very start? If allowed to enter the colony, on what terms shall he be domiciled and permitted to carry on his lawful business? May there be imposed upon him restrictions such as those contained in the Asiatic legislation of the last two years? These questions may be viewed from different standpoints as they affect interests in the Transvaal and in the whole of British South Africa, or as they are bound, sooner or later, to involve vast imperial issues and touch the fundamental principles of international justice. It might well seem that such questions could be settled out of hand; but the settlement is by no means so easy as one might imagine. It is certainly right that all British subjects, whether of European or Asiatic descent, should under all circumstances be treated as such, and that would surely end the whole matter; but on the other hand, it is not only right, but absolutely essential, alike in the interests of civilization, morality, and stable government, that the white population of the Transvaal should be increased and strengthened in every possible way. There are few more delicate or difficult problems in

practical ethics than those which arise from an apparent conflict of duties. If the wishes of the Transvaal are to be fully met, who shall say that some neighbouring colony will not be injured? And if that danger has been happily averted, how will it stand with large and vital imperial interests when the disabilities of the Transvaal Indians are eagerly canvassed in the bazaars of Calcutta and Lahore? Now a Federal Parliament, representative of all the South African colonies, conscious of its great strength and steadied by a full sense of its vast responsibilities, would be far better able to deal with a question of this magnitude and complexity than any purely local assembly. A wider outlook would be obtainable, local and temporary necessities would not be so likely to obscure general principles, and even if the special imperial aspect were not fully grasped we may be sure that the general good of the whole of South Africa would be kept well in view. We may find another apposite illustration in the much-debated question of foreign indentured labour in the Transvaal. It is no secret that at least one important colony was opposed to the policy of the Transvaal Government. A Federal Parliament, composed of the strongest men from every part of the sub-continent, could have discussed such a subject with full and competent local knowledge, and with due regard to the best interests of the whole community. Such a gathering would probably have repudiated with some indignation the definition of indentured labour in terms of slavery; but without any bitterness or undue heat they could have settled, once for all, a long series of questions connected with the sources and conditions of the needed supply of unskilled labour.

In all such matters as these, affecting in many ways the empire as a whole, the Imperial Government would find it much easier and much more satisfactory to communicate with one authoritative central body; and on the other hand, such a body could speak to that Government with an authority and certainty which would never be possible in the case of a mere local legislative assembly.

We now come to speak of those subjects which are

purely national and local. Many topics must be passed by without a word, and we have no need to dwell in detail upon such matters as railway administration, fiscal arrangements, postal and telegraph services, the administration of law—especially in the Courts of Appeal—national defence, the organization of the Civil Service. The reader will understand what economies could be effected, how efficiency would be promoted by unification of control. For want of this the whole question of national defence, for example, is in a state of hopeless confusion. Each colony has its carefully planned volunteer system; but the forces of one colony are not available for the defence of another, and at present there is no authority in existence which could concentrate the united forces of the country at any point of common and acute danger. Nor does it fall within the scope of our purpose to suggest how unification would establish and maintain the public credit; such matters may be left to the financier and the economist.

There remain two questions which, from one standpoint, overshadow all others in their supreme and abiding importance. The first is the development of a truly national sentiment and patriotic enthusiasm; the second is the initiation of a wise, well-reasoned, just, sympathetic, consistent, and universal native policy which, more than anything else, would tend to give British South Africa a fair start in the only path of true progress.

The whole course of European history in South Africa has been against the ordered development of that national sentiment which is so essential to the unity and well-being of a people. It is difficult to have a true national feeling without a visible centre of unity. Under present conditions there can be no national institutions, no national press. Even political interest is bound to mean interest, in the main, in the politics of a particular colony. The effect of all this upon the outlook of young South Africa is deplorable in the extreme. Lately the South African colonies have managed to express themselves in a truly national way in connexion with the fine achievements of football and cricket teams, which represented the various

colonies. The effect of these exploits in the field of international athletics was very great, and wholly beneficial, as tending to check colonial sectionalism. The gain that would accrue from the concentration of attention upon the common proposals, the general discussions, the influential decisions of a united Parliament would be of great worth in the direction just indicated.

We have left to the last the consideration which, in our judgement, outweighs all others in its importance and real urgency. In regard to the native policy of the South African colonies there is an appeal for unity which is simply clamorous in its insistency. For good or for ill, whether we wish it or not, we are charged with the responsibility of governing large masses of native people, many of them being still in a very backward condition intellectually and socially. Our responsibility in regard to these people has been freely acknowledged from time to time. As long ago as December 4, 1846, Lord Grey wrote to Sir H. Pottinger: 'The civilization and improvement of the inhabitants of this part of Africa are the main objects to which I look from the maintenance of that colony (Natal).'

It may be accepted as an axiom in child-training that consistency is a primal virtue as fickleness must be written down as a cardinal and fatal vice. This axiom has an exact and forcible application to the government of backward races. But in the past the one thing essential has often been the one thing lacking. There have been noble ideals, generous impulses, good intentions, but consistency has too often been wanting. In Cape Colony the native who fulfils certain conditions has full enfranchisement, in some other colonies he has no political rights at all. The famous dictum of Cecil J. Rhodes—*equal rights for all civilized men*—would seem to underlie the legislation of the older colony. But the ninth article of the old Transvaal Grondwet bluntly declared: *The people will not tolerate equality between coloured and white inhabitants either in Church or State.*

A native in one colony, knowing himself to be a British subject, crosses an invisible boundary into a neighbouring

colony, also a part of the empire of which he is a subject, and is perplexed and amazed at every turn to find himself under the operation of laws which are totally unfamiliar and often entirely out of harmony with his previous training, his tribal customs, his daily habits. It is not easy for him to unlearn the laws under which he has lived, and he sees no satisfactory reason why he should make any serious effort to do so. He is very likely to transgress the new and unknown laws under which he is now brought, and is marked down as a law-breaker before he has had time to adjust himself to the new conditions. The effect of all this upon the native mind is irritating beyond expression. The co-ordination of native administration must, of course, be reached by a process of levelling-up, or the last state may be worse than the first. This does not, of course, mean that we should expect to bring the more backward peoples to the level of the more advanced at one step. But the great principles which have determined the more liberal policy must be frankly accepted as principles to be generally applied as circumstances warrant their application.

The path that leads to the desired goal may be long and difficult; selfish interests may assert themselves again and again; local prejudices may raise formidable barriers of passion and unreason; but the road must be trodden to the end. For what is the only alternative? Continued separation, growing divergencies, fiscal retaliation, fights over railway rates, native bewilderment and unrest; while at the end of the vista we see all the conditions favourable to the occurrence of a civil war.

Surely patience and earnestness, and such statesmanship as may be available, will succeed in welding the country into one. Rich beyond compare will be the open reward of the statesmen who, in this day of fair opportunity, succeed in joining together those whom men and circumstances have too long kept asunder.

AMOS BURNET.

THE PUBLIC READING OF SCRIPTURE

The Revision of the New Testament. By DR. J. B. LIGHTFOOT. (Macmillan.)

Authorised or Revised. By DEAN VAUGHAN. (Macmillan.)

Some Lessons of the Revised Version. By DR. B. F. WESTCOTT. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

Ely Lectures on the Revised Version. By CANON KENNEDY. (Bentley.)

The Revised Version. By W. G. HUMPHREY. (Stock.)

The Revised Version of the New Testament. By W. A. OSBORNE. (Kegan Paul.)

The Book of Job in the Revised Version. By DR. S. R. DRIVER. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)

Which Bible to Read. By DR. F. BALLARD. (Allenson.)

Should not the Revised Version of the Scriptures be further revised? By W. J. HEATON. (Griffiths.)

The Bible in Modern English. By FERRAR FENTON. (S. W. Partridge.)

Twentieth Century New Testament. (James Clarke.)

The New Testament in Modern Speech. By DR. WEYMOUTH. (James Clarke.)

ALL watchers of modern life who are not the victims of a glamorous optimism, will know that the amount of private Bible reading done to-day, in this the most Christian country in the world, is a diminishing quantity. Indeed, outside the churches and schools, one may say without any fear of exaggeration, the Bible is scarcely read at all. The contrast between this age and that so vividly described by Mr. J. R. Green in his *Short History of England* (pp. 447-49) when this country was the

'land of one book,' is marked indeed. The volume then so eagerly studied is now pushed out of regard by hosts of newspapers, magazines, and booklets, which, taken along with scientific and literary productions, and the overwhelming flood of fiction, completely absorb the attention of modern men, women, and children. The extent to which the Bible is actually rejected through such wild ravings as those of *God and my Neighbour*, or Secularist pamphlets, is small enough to be left out of consideration. But to an immeasurable extent it is relegated to dusty shelves under the specious plea of no time, or the pitiful delusion that religious folk know all about it. And this, too, in spite of such real stimulus and valuable helps towards a truer vision as are found in good and cheap handbooks like the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, or the still better *Century Bible*. It is none the less certain that Chillingworth's old phrase: 'The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants,' remains as true as ever, even if not precisely with his intended significance. However nebulous in our day the term 'religion' may become, Christianity stands or falls with the Bible. This does not, of course, mean that Christians are pledged to a precise theory of inspiration, or dream of accepting as binding upon them the conceptions of God, or ideals for man, which are set forth in the Old Testament. But it is manifest beyond controversy that the New Testament, to which Christianity must ultimately refer as its standard, is organically inseparable from the Old Testament. And this relation, so far from being anything of which Christians are ashamed, is, when rightly understood, a most significant exhibition of the principle of natural and valid spiritual evolution. The more true this is, the more necessary is it that the Bible should be known, and known to-day as never before. Yet the plain fact is that besides the outer ignoring of the Bible, there is even in the churches less private Bible reading than ever. Nor is this deficit made up by all the Bible classes which are now working and happily showing signs of further development. For those who are

never present on such occasions are just such as least know and least read the Bible, but need most to learn what it is and is not, what it should really count for in modern Christian thought and life.

All these facts, and many others, point in one direction, viz. the ever-growing importance of what are loosely called the 'lessons,' which are constantly read in public religious services. About the Lectionary adopted nothing need here be said, save that any attempt at the systematic reading of the Bible in the course of a year, is really as futile as unnecessary. Even if all the worshippers came twice regularly on Sunday, no consecutive Bible study can really be accomplished in a hundred such readings. The truth, of course, is that those who do no reading at home, and need most to profit from Scripture reading in public, are present only once on Sunday. Certainly the opportunities which those fifty occasions provide, can be best used by laying stress upon portions most deserving emphasis in the application of the ethical and spiritual principles of the Bible to the life and environment of to-day. Systematic Bible study is a matter to be undertaken, if at all, by the individual in his own home.

Whatever portions are selected for public worship, two questions are becoming more and more serious every week, viz. What English version is to be read? and How is it to be made impressive for good? Never, one may affirm with all emphasis, was there a time in which the ideal so vividly expressed in the record concerning Nehemiah, so loudly called for adoption to the uttermost. '*And the Levites read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly: and they gave the sense and caused the people to understand the reading.*'¹ If that is not done, assuredly, in these keen and critical days, the mere repetition of familiar terms culminating in the 'sound of that blessed word Mesopotamia,' will be utterly unavailing. Two things are thus not only desirable but absolutely necessary, if truth is to prevail over superstition. First, a definite impression must be made upon

¹ Neh. viii. 1-12.

the minds of the hearers; and, secondly, that impression must be as true as forceful. Both these suggestions are doubtless commonplace, only it must be ever remembered that through the realization or ignoring of commonplaces we live or die, in body and soul alike.

Probably no commonplace is at once more common or more neglected than the assumption that in public worship what is needed, above all, is the truth. And that, alas! in very many cases is precisely what those who listen to the public reading of Scripture do not get. They get what they have been accustomed to; maybe what they like to hear; what does not trouble or interest them; what they have never understood, nor ever expressed any desire to understand. If Philip's question were whispered into the ears of an ordinary religious audience, it may be sadly questioned if one in ten would show the intelligent eagerness of the eunuch's reply. So persists from year to year that consecration of the rule of thumb, that sway of reasonless sentiment in religion, which would work chaos or ruin in every other department of life. Then the Free Churches profess to be astonished that, not only in Liverpool, but so many other places, men are conspicuously absent from religious services, and evangelical religion is losing hold of the young people who are daily compelled to breathe the modern atmosphere. If this unquestionable deterioration is to be checked and transformed into Christian progress, whatever other measures may be found necessary, we venture to say here, with all earnestness and reasoned conviction, that *this whole matter of Bible reading in public will have to be much more seriously considered.* At present, if an honest report is to be given, free from all cynicism but true to the average, the public reading of the 'lessons' counts really for nothing. It is, in numberless cases, a pious farce, instead of a precious opportunity, used to the uttermost, for the actual education of professing Christians into the full sense of what ought to be thought, and said, and done, with a view to the present development of Christ's kingdom in our midst.

The great themes above mentioned are thus thrust upon us with unparalleled insistence. Two more important questions cannot be asked in to-day's religious life than What English rendering of the passages selected for the brief reading is to be followed? and How is that short extract to be read? The appeal here is confessedly to the Free Churches. In the Established Church, it must be plainly affirmed, with respect and sorrow, but from abundant honest observation, that the reading of the 'lessons' virtually accomplishes nothing at all, beyond the fulfilment of a verbal form. It is not merely that the old Version is always adopted. That Version might yet, in spite of its serious inaccuracies and misleading archaisms, be used to profit, if it were read naturally and intelligently. Whilst, however, the former is hopelessly excluded by the monotone which is usually accompanied by the ecclesiastical twang, the latter cannot possibly be attained without an occasional note of explanation or comment. But in Anglican churches their name is legion who would deem such an attempt to follow the Levites of Nehemiah's day, little short of sacrilege. It would be pronounced an irreverent and intolerable innovation. So much for the shackles of blind convention! The principle is, better go on an old way in and into darkness, than learn through a new way to enter into light—although truly, in this case, the new way is the old. Is it any wonder that at such services, and under such auspices, thoughtful men should be so lamentably absent? Happily the Free Churches are not enwrapped in such swaddling-bands. They would, confessedly, do well to emulate the reverence which generally characterizes Anglican services. But if such reverence involves unreality, then it is purchased at too high a price. Why should not reverence and reality go hand in hand? Is there any valid reason why the natural and the free and the worshipful should not be one? Let us therefore briefly apply our two questions, in this most important regard, to the Churches which are not 'by law established,' and ask what use we are making of our liberty herein.

1. As to the English version used in public worship. The latest revision has been long enough before the mind of this generation to enable a fair estimate to be formed of its merits and demerits. No man, least of all the able scholars who gave it to us, ever claimed perfection for it. But beyond all controversy it is, in numberless important instances, and in general representation of the originals, more accurate and reliable than the version of 1611. The Spurgeonic criticism, that the revisers were 'strong in Greek and weak in English,' has been worn threadbare by thoughtless repetition. It was never true. The truth was simply that the revisers were severely anxious that the modern English reader should know the exact significance of the ancient Greek. Certainly they handicapped themselves at the outset by hard-and-fast rules which proved a hindrance rather than a help; but their work was never undertaken merely with a view to improve the style of the older rendering. No one doubts that, so far as what Mr. Hall Caine calls 'the grand style' is concerned, the Jacobean version is, speaking generally, beyond improvement. If all that the Christian religion needed to-day, for its maintenance or development throughout these realms, were the possession of records in ecclesiastical or classical English, *cadit quaestio*, all should be well. But that is truly very far from being the case. The question must rather be sharply put and plainly answered, in the interests of Christianity for this and coming generations, Why read the Bible at all in public? Every one in these days can read for himself, and printed Bibles abound by the million. In a word, are 'lessons' read at worship-time for a religious, or for a literary purpose? If the latter, then not only will the 'Authorized' version suffice—including, of course, the Apocrypha; but Canon Henson's suggestion that other writings of repute should be adopted, demands serious consideration. If, however, the aim of such readings be religious, that is Christian—in the broad intellectual and moral, ethical and spiritual connotation of that term—then our question takes on an entirely different aspect.

There may be those who can only learn life's lessons when taught in poetry, even as the late Sir Michael Foster is said to have demanded and dealt with only such scientific works as were written in faultless style. But the average physiologist and the practical physician would alike repudiate such a method, when truth and the lives of patients are at stake. If, therefore, the purpose of public Bible reading be definitely ethical and spiritual, literary style is quite secondary, and the plea for the persistent use of a version of the Scriptures which, through errors and archaisms, is as faulty in substance as it is excellent in style, becomes pure sentimentalism or mere superstition. Nor can any weight whatever be attached to the term 'authorized' as applied to the older revision, for the sole authorization which it received was its own intrinsic merit, as compared with the four other Bibles which were more or less known in the language of that day. Without questioning the many excellences or entering into the history of this Version, the point here to be noted is that for better or worse, necessarily and resistlessly, our age, as compared with the Elizabethan, is critical and utilitarian. We are concerned to-day less and less with the cadence of language, more and more with the truth which language conveys. The Christian question now, is not whether this or the other verse in the Fourth Gospel is lucidly expressed, but whether Christ did or did not say certain things; whether we have what He really said; whether what we have is reliable in substance, apart from any special mode of expression. What the comparatively few who gather in Christian places of worship to-day need, above all else, is not the soothing of customary religious sounds, or the refined enjoyment of listening to an antique or faultless style, but the actual truth concerning God, and man, and Christ, and the gospel, which can be taken as reliable, and may be acted upon in all life's daily duties and relationships. This, there ought to be no hesitation now in saying, they will get from the Revised Version, and will *not* get from the Authorized Version. To put the case succinctly, what

the religious public in the present generation needs, is not pious sensation but Christian education. And this, under the average reading of the Version of 1611, is simply impossible.

Even as to the foundation matter of the Greek text, every careful student knows that the unfavourable summary of Canon Cook, which is approvingly quoted by Mr. Heaton in his booklet above specified (p. 11) as against the text of Westcott and Hort, is decidedly superficial and one-sided. Space for critical discussion being here impossible, it must suffice to say generally, that the most valuable MSS. we now possess were altogether unknown to the revisers of 1611; and whilst no blame is to be attached to them for that, censure would rightly fall on modern Christian scholarship if such valuable additional grounds for the ascertainment and expression of the truth were not fully taken into account. Whether, however, in regard to the text or the translation, four affirmations may be made at this point. (1) The average congregation is not critical but ignorant, and for its intellectual appreciation of Bible lessons is at the mercy of whatever is read. (2) All such hearers, especially the younger portion, ought not to be misled by misrepresentations, under any circumstances whatever. (3) They need, increasingly, the very best, i. e. the most accurate and impressive, renderings that can be set forth. (4) On the whole, such need is not met in the older Version, and is supplied in the Revised Version.

If, indeed, it be asked whether the 'Authorized Version' is really misleading, the answer must be, unequivocally and emphatically, in the affirmative. Out of hundreds of instances which have been already plainly pointed out,¹ the following must here suffice as examples. From the Old Testament take only these. In the Psalms: 'Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels' (viii. 5); 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that

¹ In the volume entitled *Which Bible to read*, the present writer has specified more than a thousand necessary or helpful corrections.

forget God' (ix. 17); 'Let them go down quick into hell' (lv. 15). From one other book only: 'I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth, and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God' (Job xix. 25, 26); 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him' (Job xiii. 15). In the New Testament mark only these: 'Take no thought for your life' or 'for the morrow'; 'When He was come into the house, Jesus prevented him'; 'He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels' (Matt. vi. 25-34, xvii. 25, xxvi. 53); 'He that believeth not shall be damned' (Mark xvi. 16); 'Occupy till I come' (Luke xix. 13); 'The Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved'; 'The times of this ignorance God winked at'; 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian' (Acts ii. 47, xvii. 30, xxvi. 28); 'And now abideth faith, hope, charity'; 'We thus judge that if one died for all, then were all dead' (1 Cor. xiii. 13, 2 Cor. v. 14); 'Ye have heard of my conversation in time past in the Jews' religion' (Gal. i. 13); 'That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow' (Phil. ii. 10). These are but a few out of the host in regard to which two things must be noted:—(1) They are continually read in public. (2) They are all and always misleading; for they do not convey the truth to the hearers of to-day.

Mr. Heaton's booklet is a vigorous plea for a revision of the Revised Version. As to its desirability, there cannot be two opinions. If what the writer suggests could be done efficiently and at once, it would doubtless be unmeasured gain. But the esteemed author of *Our own English Bible* cannot but know, better than most men, how real and how great are the difficulties involved. The same religious temperament which now, in face of all demonstrations of superior accuracy, opposes the Revised Version, would undoubtedly, if it were in universal use, oppose its revision. There is also real force in the remark that 'no private venture will nowadays be accepted by the English people.' Although mention might certainly

have been made of two modern renderings which are both accessible to all, and, besides being valuable for private study, are exceedingly useful for public comparison. The *Twentieth Century New Testament* and Dr. Weymouth's *New Testament in Modern Speech*, especially the latter, ought to be welcomed and used by every modern English Christian who does not read the Greek for himself. If the reading of a new version, whether the Revised Version in public or others in private, did nothing more than cause thought, by reason of the departure from familiar sounds, it would be unmeasured gain. In regard to the public reading of the Revised Version it is easy, of course, to pick a few isolated passages—especially in the New Testament—where the revisers, wisely or unwisely, have sacrificed English fluency to an attempted accuracy by means of literalness. But apart from these, there is no real ground whatever for the common and superficial denunciation of the Revised Version in regard to style. Even as to expression in clear and forceful 'English undefiled,' there are numberless cases in which the Revised Version is incomparably superior. Of this the book of Isaiah may be taken as a true type, seeing that in the older Version not a few passages in this most precious portion of the Old Testament are simply unintelligible. If, in a word, it be still desirable to follow the example of the Levites who 'caused the people to understand' the public reading of 'the Book of the Law' in the time of Nehemiah, then many reasons besides the above may be surely urged why the Revised Version and not the 'Authorized' should now be used in every Christian pulpit throughout the land, in order to the understanding of the gospel.

2. Even then we have to face the fact that the Revised Version, like that of 1611, may be marred by thoughtless, careless, superficial, perfunctory reading. The increasing need every Sunday that all public readers of Scripture should do as those above specified, who '*read in the book distinctly, and gave the sense,*' is manifest enough, if this

portion of Christian worship is to be saved from the reproach of profitless humdrum. How this is to be accomplished the limits of this article prevent our pointing out. If there cannot always be vivid elocution and elucidating comment, at least there should be naturalness and intelligent emphasis, joined with accuracy and reliability. But these latter are not and cannot be where the Version of 1611 is still retained, even if the public reader do his utmost to secure the former.

It is refreshing to remember that the Sheffield Wesleyan Conference unanimously recommended that the Revised Version should be provided in every pulpit where the new Hymn-book was adopted. But it is correspondingly lamentable to know that in hundreds of cases that recommendation has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. The poorer the circuit and the humbler the congregation, the greater is the need of the very best that modern scholarly guidance can provide for them. The notion that anything will do for Sunday schools and Mission halls, is as mischievous spiritually as unworthy intellectually. In this respect, as in all else, the greatest and crucial want of the Christian Church to-day is that under all circumstances, and on every occasion, those who profess to be co-workers with God, should bring to their holy labour the very best of which every man is capable. Amidst all our discussions it would be difficult to name a question of greater seriousness than how far—in times when outside the Churches the Bible is never looked at, and inside is only known, in general, very partially and superficially—the public reading of what herein is true, with such care as to make it alike clear and emphatic, can help to maintain the standard of Christian faith and pave the way for the universal application of Christian principles. The very least answer that can be given, is that what the Levites of old did, with such manifest effect, should be done, *a fortiori*, by every Christian teacher in like position to-day.

FRANK BALLARD.

BAR AND PEN IN FIRST-CENTURY ROME

L'Opposition sous Les Césars. Par GASTON BOISSIER.
(Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1875.)

Tacitus, and other Roman Studies. By GASTON BOISSIER.
Translated by W. G. HUTCHISON. (London: Constable & Co. 1906.)

The Annals of Tacitus. Edited by HENRY FURNEAUX.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1884-1891.)

The History of Tacitus. Edited by REV. W. A. SPOONER.
(London. 1891.)

Observations on Tacitus as a writer and historian, impartially considered and compared with Livy. By
REV. THOMAS HUNTER, of Garstang, Lancashire.
(London. 1752.)

THE death, some little time since, at Viroflay (Seine-et-Oise), of Marie Louis Gaston Boissier deprived not only the French Academy of a Perpetual Secretary who was a really sound scholar as well as a first-rate man of business, but European literature in general of one among its most variously accomplished, painstaking, and instructive writers on subjects connected with Roman history and letters. Born in 1823, he began his work as a professor at Angoulême. During more than half a century he held many such positions at various seats of learning in his native land. Both in his books and in his lectures his methods alike of historical and literary treatment resembled those of his countryman, Henri Taine. Before, that is, actually dealing with the incidents or the individual forming his theme, he subjects to a minutely scientific analysis not only their whole environment of circumstance, but the social, moral, political, and intellectual atmosphere of their time. Also, as in the case of Taine, the standpoint from

which he regards every development of life, thought, and character, in other ages and other lands, is that of one who piques himself on his philosophy, but who is a patriotic native of the land of the Code Napoleon first, and a thinker afterwards. Our own Froude and Macaulay have been charged with writing about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century events in the spirit of later-day party pamphleteers, variously concerned to support now a Tory, now a Whig, now a purely Erastian, and now an Arminian or Calvinistic thesis.

The earliest of his set pieces interesting English readers in their author was Boissier's *Cicero and his Friends*. That was first published so long since that in 1892 it had run into its ninth edition. Teutonic scholars allowed this book to be in its way interesting, but generally added it was frivolous. At Oxford, John Conington, a keen modern critic as well as a great Latinist, sometimes not absolutely impervious to humour, but who probably never read in his life a French newspaper or a French novel, is said to have suggested that it might originally have appeared in parts as a feuilleton in the *Figaro*. At Berlin, Theodore Mommsen saw in it evidence confirmatory of an old opinion that the interpreter of Greek metaphysics to the Latin world was essentially a journalist, and probably not very much else. While colloquial criticism of this kind was being interchanged between Oxford and Berlin, a letter to an English friend, written by Boissier in the common medium of what he called classical Latin, was being read by one or two common-rooms on the Isis. This composition contained, one may be sure, no false concords, no barbarisms. It is, however, quite certain that a Roman of the Augustan period would have failed to see in it a true mastery of his native tongue, that Cicero could not possibly have written it to Atticus, and that none of his correspondents would have written it to Cicero. It was, of course, Latin (for Boissier knew Latin in the French fashion as well as any man), but that was all. It would not have helped the candidate for an entrance

scholarship at Trinity or Balliol; it would not have been marked A if written by an undergraduate at Moderations.

Perhaps no Frenchman's Latin, prose or verse, ever achieved any of these distinctions. The standard of Gallic excellence in Latin composition may be lower or higher than that of Oxford or Cambridge. It is at least of an entirely different kind—among other reasons, perhaps, because Latin writing is to the French student a thing entirely different from that practised by the English. This difference is not to be disposed of by calling it mere dissimilarity of style. In the Latin writing of equally good English scholars there are, of course, such varieties; it would, indeed, probably be found that the classical compositions which win the highest marks in the examinations of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and other universities in the United Kingdom, all belong to schools of scholarship as distinct from each other as the French is from the English, or that of the Isis from that of the Cam. In the same university, in the same school, in the same college, the very best teachers of Latin writing, perhaps almost unconsciously, set before their pupils almost opposite models. The best Latin writing of English scholars is an imitative art. The result is a mosaic, often very skilfully arranged, of phrases reproduced from the best authors as far as may be exclusively of the Augustan age. The French scholars' Latin writing, like that of the papal monsignors, is in its way a creative effort. Original combinations of words, sentences, and metaphors thus not only become permissible, but necessary. It is less a dead language that is revived, than a living tongue that is manipulated. The foundation and ground-work of Parisian French are Latin. The syntax, the grammar, and especially the use in connexion with relative pronouns of the subjunctive mood, are those which would have been familiar to a *flâneur* of imperial Rome. The first Napoleon, as, after his own fashion, did the second, posed as the successor of the Caesars. To the professor, or his pupils in the *lycées*,

Latin is the predecessor and parent of French. The two languages are practically one, viewed in successive stages of their development. So in the case of Gaston Boissier's literary manner. It is with his general spirit as with the French Latin prose style. Lord Rosebery delivered his views on reasonable Imperialism in a neat little life of the second Pitt. Napoleon III put forth his apologia in a biography of Julius Caesar. To Boissier the most attractive of Roman historians is Tacitus, whose charm lay for him in the fact of the *Histories*, the *Annals*, even the *Agricola* and the *Germany*, being so apposite and parallel to chapters in the chronicle of his native land, that they were commentaries on the story of modern France quite as much as narratives of ancient Italy.

Boissier has much that is full of interest to say in detail on these points. From his account of the French reception given to Tacitus I shall presently hope to profit. Before mentioning the varying estimates of Tacitus by Gaston Boissier's most illustrious compatriots at various times, it will be well to say something about the stages and the means by which the writings of Tacitus became accessible to the reading public of the Western world. Their genuineness, now universally accepted, was first impugned by a critic named Ross, who clumsily attributed them to Poggio Bacciolini in the fifteenth century. Mr. Spooner, whose edition of the *Histories* is mentioned in the list of volumes preceding these remarks, dwells upon the position unanimously awarded to Tacitus as a model of style in the classical renaissance of the fifteenth century. As a fact, however, there are not many evidences of this writer having, at the date usually taken for the opening of modern history, extensively or even appreciably influenced the Latinity in which the most cultivated writers at that period expressed their thoughts. A predominating admiration for Cicero was then, and for many years remained, in words of Quintilian, often quoted by Erasmus, the profession and test of sound and accomplished scholarship.

At the time referred to by Mr. Spooner, Cicero's rival

with Latinists of the better sort was not Tacitus, but Suetonius; that biographer of the Caesars achieved a popularity so unprecedented that between their first printing in 1470 A.D. and 1500 A.D. fifteen editions of his *Lives* had been called for. As for Tacitus, he was practically little known in Rome throughout the whole of the fifteenth century. The Rev. R. Taylor, A.B., M.R.C.S., in *The Diegesis*, states that the earliest imprint of any part of the *Annals* was made in 1468 by Johannes de Spire at Venice, from a single manuscript in his power and possession only, purporting to have been written in the eighth century.¹ However this may be, the fact remains that the *Annals* were not accessible generally before being published at Rome by Philippus Beroaldus in 1515. Before that date the only works of Tacitus extant were the *Histories*, or the shorter treatises, the *Agricola*, the *Germany*, and the *Dialogue about Orators*. Each of these compositions, as regards style, differs much more from the *Annals* than either one of the earlier books does from the other. The Tacitus, therefore, under whose spell Mr. Spooner represents educated Europe as being, at the commencement of the modern period, was not the Tacitus with whom I have here to do. Machiavelli, indeed, conceivably might have quoted from the *Annals* as well as from the earlier books; for the author of *The Prince*, dying in 1527, survived by more than a decade the Tacitean publication by Beroaldus.

Once the *Annals* were known they began to exercise a spreading fascination. No conditions could have been more timely for the revival of Tacitus. The Caesarism of antiquity had already begun to reproduce itself in contemporary Europe. In England the Tudors, in France Louis XI and Francis I were wearing the robes and playing the rôle modelled after the sovereigns who succeeded Augustus. Moreover, in 1440 the choice of Frederick III had signal-

¹ I have not had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Taylor's *Diegesis*. I am indebted for its title to the courtesy of Mr. A. Lewis, of whom I first knew from his letter in *The Daily News* some years since.

ized the Holy Roman Empire's transition from an elective to an hereditary monarchy of the Hapsburg house. After that date only once for a short time, in 1740, did the sceptre depart from the male line of the Austrian house. Germany, indeed, had learned from practice the disasters incidental to a sovereignty not passing from father to son, but dependent on the fleeting favour of an unstable multitude or an impulsive soldiery. The warnings of experience were emphasized by the morals conveyed by the narrative of Tacitus. Chronologically Machiavelli's acquaintance with the most important writings of Tacitus is, as has been seen, perfectly possible. It is demonstrated as a fact by the reference in Machiavelli's *Florentine History* to the *Annals*, book I, chap. lxxix. Moreover, throughout the whole of the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century the study of Tacitus and the study of Machiavelli were correlative terms; the one implied the other. Yet the true relations between the two are those not of resemblance, but of contrast. Machiavelli never assimilated Tacitus; he had, indeed, as we have seen, dipped into the then freshly discovered *Annals*; his acquaintance with them, however, was as desultory and superficial as might have been expected in the case of a busy man of affairs, whose literary interests were just keen enough to prevent his quite ignoring the existence and drift of the recently unearthed text. Only in the intervals of diplomacy, glancing at the Tacitean portraits of the later Caesars, just mentioned in chapter xix. of *The Prince*, Machiavelli quite missed, and was indeed entirely out of sympathy with, the moral legitimately deducible from the Roman historian of despotism. This was that the debasing and enfeebling influences of the age in general, and of the Imperial Court in particular, had quite destroyed neither the capacity nor the taste for practically reproducing, as well in public as in private, the ennobling ethical ideals of the hardier and healthier republican age.

The historian of an epoch, it has been said, is often merely an amplification of the poet. Thucydides was thus

only Sophocles, and Tacitus Juvenal. The last-named poet's despairing question, 'Who will practise virtue if you don't make it worth their while?' put, of course, in the Tacitean way, is constantly on the lips of the historian. Machiavelli's answer would have been a contemptuous—'If any one ever was virtuous without being paid well for it, more fool he!' The account of Tiberius given in the *Annals* may be at some points unfair. If Tacitus had possessed more knowledge, or less prejudice, he would have shown, as has been done by Gaston Boissier, that under the second of the Caesars the provinces were on the whole well governed, and that their prosperity was chief among the reasons which made it so difficult to organize a wide and deep opposition to the Imperial system. Yet of all this, though Boissier has told us much, Tacitus scarcely even hints at anything; while Machiavelli has only some generalities about emperors who, from a private station, reached the highest place by corrupting the soldiery, or concerning the perils that beset a prince who changes a constitutional primacy into an absolute rule. When, in addition to this, one remembers how nearly the habitual impenetrability of Tiberius was to realizing the artistic dissimulation recommended by Machiavelli to his ideal ruler, and yet how Machiavelli ignores Tiberius, the conclusion seems irresistible that Tacitus cannot have become a familiar text-book anywhere before the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and in Italy, perhaps, not even then.

Boissier's study of Tacitus is quite as well known here in Mr. Hutchison's English version as it is in its original form on the other side of the Channel. Tacitus himself, indeed, has excited at least as much interest among English readers and writers as any other Roman author. Bacon's *Augmentation of Learning* (1605) shows an acquaintance extensive rather than accurate with the author who had even then become a British favourite; the exact reference is to a story told by Bacon, in some remarks on *Actio Theatralis*, about a brother who did not exist. Algernon Sidney's *Discourses on Government*, in date subse-

quent to Bacon, read for pages together like a free paraphrase of those chapters in the *Annals* chiefly occupied with the exposure of Roman absolutism. In Sidney's quotations from the Roman historian, or in his comments on them, was found the evidence that secured his condemnation by Jeffreys for alleged complicity in the Rye-house Plot. The posthumous publication of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* in the eighteenth century coincided with and perhaps once more renewed the attractions of Tacitus for educated Englishmen. Both the Roman and English historians had achieved success at the bar before handling the pen. That point of resemblance called forth several elaborate and long-forgotten literary parallels. From England, too, at the period now looked back upon, came the first recognition of Tacitus as the founder of the new and modern historical school. 'Oratorical in form, moral in purpose, a province of eloquence and philosophy'—such was the history which, from his own example, Tacitus had led eighteenth-century Europe to expect.

In France, indeed, this writer had not always interpreters as friendly as Boissier, and encountered more hostility than in England. Voltaire, though bitter against Augustus for having destroyed the republic, approved just as little the Tacitean arraignments of the Caesars; he saw in their very vehemence a proof of their falsehood. 'A fanatic scintillating with wit, a carrion-crow of literature who, when an emperor is assassinated by his Praetorian guard, pounces on the carcase of his reputation'; so Voltaire on our author. Scarcely less severe was the first Napoleon—'a traducer of humanity.' In this vein, too, a literary free-lance of Napoleonic times, Linguet, detected in Tacitus 'one of those peevish spirits who see nothing in the world but feigned virtue or disguised vices, at once a fawning sycophant and a snarling pessimist.' Thus from those days to the present Tacitus has kept admirers or assailants actively at work. The late Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, in his presidential address to the Royal Historical Society, 1894, mentioned one of Prince Bismarck's

colleagues in turning the Prussian monarchy into the German Empire, Count Von Usedom, who always had a Tacitus by his bedside. 'A disappointed courtier,' some one called Tacitus. 'If,' rejoined Von Usedom, 'there were many courtiers like him, I should take care to frequent courts.' The lapidary style in continuous writing struck Grant Duff as the line in which Tacitus never had but one rival, Balthasar Gracian.

The opinions now cited show something like unanimity in recognizing Tacitus as a philosophical historian. But where does the philosopher come in? His occasional reflections on fate as the one ruler of this world are the merest of commonplaces. In the *Annals* (book I, chap. lxxiii) are the words often quoted as a warning against religious wars, 'the gods are perfectly well able to look after themselves' (*deorum injuria diis curae*). This, and much more to the same effect, is smartness, but scarcely philosophy. It is the kind of clever talk to be heard as much to-day at bar messes as in the time of Brougham, or, for that matter, in the lobbies of the Roman forum when Tacitus had shot ahead of all rivals at the Italian bar. Thus the real truth about this author is reached. In other words, he wrote history, not as a philosopher, but as a barrister. The oratory of his day was not that of Cicero. A marked reaction had, indeed, set in against Cicero's rhythmical, finished, and magnificent periods. A Tacitean audience required epigram, terseness, and point. These qualities he had acquired in the rhetorical studies that were to the better sort of Roman youth what Greek or Latin composition, prose or verse, used to be to English.

The briefs which poured in directly he was called kept him in perfect oratorical and intellectual training. A man of fashion and society in the Rome of his day, he filled a place in legal and social circles at Rome much like that occupied within living memory in London by the late Serjeant Ballantine, by Mr. Montagu Williams, or by the present Sir Douglas Straight. Evans' supper-rooms and Epsom Downs had their classical analogues in the baths,

the city shows, or the circus games. At all these men whispered to each other, 'There is that confoundedly clever fellow, Tacitus.' 'Sir,' said an Italian provincial who had been taking his midday meal at the same table as the future historian in one of the refreshment-rooms attached to the courts of the forum, 'your brilliant conversation proclaims you to be either the younger Pliny or Tacitus.' 'My friend,' said to Tacitus Pliny himself, 'to crown the edifice of your fame, now that you have boxed the compass of state honours, you must show how capitally you can write.' Thus it was that the ex-prætor and quindecimvir, his forensic honours fresh upon him, set about showing he could be as smart with his pen as with his tongue. What could he do but write history as a special pleader or debater? Of course, therefore, his style is full of suggestive innuendo, of cynical imputations, of stinging verdicts, all compressed so as to be remembered and felt.

It may be noticed incidentally that while fragments of the oratory of the Gracchi, of Cato, and of Marius have come down to us, we do not as yet possess a single speech of Tacitus. All, indeed, we know by tradition about his bar-oratory suggests a difference from, rather than a resemblance to, the English lawyers by the memories of whose forensic fame I have ventured to illustrate that of Tacitus. Acumen and animation were the chief notes in the eloquence of the nineteenth-century advocates named above. The poet and critic Sidonius Apollinaris dwells on the stately style (*pompa*) of Tacitus; 'the speeches he assigns to the character in his writing,' Apollinaris adds, 'were, I know by authentic tradition, cast in the mould of his own eloquence. Undoubtedly, however, he sounded softer and gentler notes in the gamut of human feeling. So much, at least, may be conjectured from the tenderness of friendship with which he inspired Pliny, as well as from the unaffected pathos visible in his narrative of the life and death of Agricola. Admiring Livy as Tacitus did, he never attempted to imitate that historian, and presents, indeed, a complete contrast to him. Livy's history reads like a poem, the product of genius rather than of art. As Homer's, his

work contains the germs of the most perfect oratory, the most vivid description, the most natural delineations of character, and the gentlest sympathy. A truly liberal education shows itself in each successive paragraph of Livy. The training that is above all things technical, and the successive stages of apprenticeship to the bar, make up the most conspicuous ingredients in the style of Tacitus. The ultimate tendencies of a writer are sometimes well shown by those who try to copy him. The Oxford edition of the *Annals* and *History*, mentioned in the course of these remarks, may be not unworthy of the University. But the Oxford reading of Tacitus, in the opinion of the best judges, has debased the style of undergraduate Latin prose.

Quintilian's observations on Seneca point to a deterioration in later poetry corresponding to that of contemporary oratory and narrative. No great writer derived more inspiration from the versifiers of his time than did Tacitus. His writing, in fact, abounds in poetisms, not of the first quality, of conventional metaphor and unoriginal attempts at graphic effects. So far from Tacitus having, as is sometimes claimed for him, widely observed or deeply meditated the moral cause and meaning of the events and the conditions amid which he lived, he seldom makes an original reflection on the moral or spiritual issues with which the atmosphere of his age was charged. Had he, indeed, been a really philosophical historian, of social or moral insight or foresight, could he have failed to distinguish between the primitive Christianity he mentions only with a sneer, and the countless ephemeral religions with which he confounds it, and which were then sprouting up in all parts of the Roman Empire? From the writer who did more than observe superficially all these phenomena of his time, should we not have had something about the waning of paganism, and even of Judaism, before the religion of the Cross—something, in fine, which would have compensated for the loss of that portion of the *Annals* containing, as no doubt they did, the account of Jerusalem's final destruction by Titus?

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF UNION WITH CHRIST

IT has often been said that St. Paul's central doctrine is that of a *νήκρωσις*, or dying; which is further defined as 'a dying with Jesus,' and 'a dying unto sin.' Both terms are of importance, but taken apart from their context they do not admit us to the glowing heart of the Apostle's great conception. For St. Paul looked upon death, especially in the teaching of which these phrases are typical, as a means to the much richer experience of life. The dying of Jesus was to be welcomed that the life of Jesus might be made manifest (2 Cor. iv. 10), and those who counted themselves dead unto sin were to do so that they might be 'alive unto God in Christ Jesus' (Rom. vi. 11). In the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, in which the death of our Lord is spoken of as the *ὑποτύπωμα*—the example to which our death is to conform—the resurrection to newness of life follows for the Christian as it did for his Lord, and by the death to which we conform we become united (*σύμφυτοι*) to the Prince of life. But throughout this noteworthy passage there is a third term of equal prominence, and that is 'righteousness.' Now it has often been pointed out that this 'righteousness' is the righteousness 'of God,' and that upon a true interpretation of that word the whole teaching of the Epistle to the Romans turns. To Paul righteousness was no forensic declaration of acquittal, but the communication of the divine nature; and in making it the antithesis of death (Rom. vi. 16) he makes it the synonym of life. It is of the utmost importance that this climax in the Apostle's thought receive its proper emphasis. To stop short at the *νήκρωσις* is an error, the effects of which may be studied in every presentation of the ascetic spirit. No life remains wholly negative long. If the dying is not

followed by a resurrection to newness of life it is followed by 'dead men's bones and rottenness.' Moral corruption closely threatens the life in which self-renunciation is not followed by a conscious identification of oneself with the risen Christ. But the purpose of this paper is to call attention rather to the means by which this 'righteousness of life' is to be attained. 'We live unto God IN CHRIST JESUS,' says St. Paul. This great phrase, so often used, so seldom understood, sets before us, in the despair of language to utter all man's thought, that fullness of communion in which one spiritual nature is completely interpenetrated by another. It stands for communion, and there is no adequate interpretation of St. Paul's teaching that man may attain to the righteousness of God unless that interpretation is expressed in terms of fellowship. That righteousness attains its consummation in sanctification described in the eighth chapter of Romans as an inheritance of God, but there is no break between inception and consummation in the thought of God. We have been slow indeed to discover the continuity and development of life, but in this connexion at any rate there is no mistaking its recognition in Scripture. The Holy Spirit is to us the earnest of the fuller inheritance; He is the foretaste as well as the seal and security of our complete possession; and the first bestowal of that Spirit, like the entering upon the fullness of the final inheritance, is to be found in *Christ* (Eph. i. 13, 14). The phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ* then stands for that mystical union which begins with the act of faith that makes us one with Christ and which has its fulfilment in the fullness of God (Eph. iii. 19). Drs. Sanday and Headlam, in their *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, say that 'this doctrine is capable of exercising a stronger and more dominating influence on the Christian consciousness than it has done.' If we ask why it is not more frequently taught, we shall find that its comparative neglect is probably due to two causes still operative. Christian teachers have looked with suspicion upon any teaching to which the term 'mystical' may be

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applied. They have felt, and rightly felt, that the only true basis of Christian consciousness is to be found in the historical revelation in Jesus Christ. They have sought that revelation in the deeds and words of Christ rather than in His divine Person, and they have feared that insistence upon the latter might easily lead to that Pantheistic conception of Christ which is continually appearing in the Christian Church. It revealed itself in the Gnosticism of the second century, and it is with us to-day in the 'New Theology.' We would claim in a word that to neglect this prominent theme of the New Testament in this way is to make too great a concession to fear. Nor is there any reason why the mysticism of St. Paul should be divorced from that historical basis which gives it its true value. The Gnosis of St. Paul is in keeping with τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1 Cor. i. 6), and a clear historical note is struck when we are told that both our living and our dying is not only with the exalted Christ, but with the living and historical Jesus. To neglect this teaching is to deny to the spiritual consciousness of the Church her truest fountain-head of refreshment, and it is small wonder that those who feel the need of this teaching fall easy victims to every modern travesty of it.

Another cause of its neglect is that the sense of the inestimable benefit which comes to the believer has almost diverted attention from Him through and in whom that blessedness is realized. Like a child, man has been so lost in wonder at the gift that he has all but forgotten the Giver. When he has come to serve his fellows he has carried the same feeling into his service. He has exalted the blessing and done scant honour to its source. The same feeling threatens the philanthropy of the day. The 'passion for souls' seems almost to have displaced the passion for Christ. Our common theme is the blessings of salvation rather than Him in whose life we are saved (Rom. v. 10), and the need of man rather than the fullness of Christ. Such a misplacing of emphasis may be easily accounted for, but if it is not corrected it will impoverish Christian experience.

Now St. Paul's Christology is personal from beginning to end. It starts with his realization of an objective personal 'appearance' of the risen Lord. Alike in his use of terms and in the whole tenor of his argument he claims that this appearance was on the same plane of experience as that which was given to St. Peter and the others. The Lord made Himself known to him as 'Jesus'; the Jesus seen by Stephen in the hour of his martyrdom. This was followed later by a revelation of Christ Himself in the Apostle, εὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί (Gal. i. 15, 16). The one experience was complementary to the other, but both were personal, and together they dominated the whole outlook of the Apostle upon the facts of God and the world. 'Nowhere else can we find a subjective realization of the objectivities of the Christian experience which can compare with his' (Dr. Garvie, *Expositor*, March 1908). The idea indeed did not originate with St. Paul. Union with God has been from the beginning one of the instinctive hopes of man. It would be strange if it had not made an appearance in the higher thought of India, where, more than in any other land, the consciousness of God has been, and is, the common possession of men; and certainly no declaration could be more explicit than that of the Bhagavadgita (ix. 29): 'Those who devoutly worship me are in me, and I in them.' It received a further accentuation in the later development of the cult of Mithras. It makes its appearance in the Logos doctrine of the Greek, and the highest reward of virtue, according to Philo, is to possess the consciousness of the Divine Reason within the human soul, and to enter thus into fellowship with God. Coming to the Old Testament we find communion with God expressed more in terms of physical life. The angel of the Lord, or God Himself, appeared to eyes of flesh, and held converse with patriarch or prophet. Yet in such passages as 'The Name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it, and is safe' (Prov. xviii. 10), there seems to be some feeling after union with God as He might be revealed in 'The Name of the Lord.' The

imperfection, however, which belongs to all pre-Christian ideas belongs to these. To the Hindu union was absorption, and to the Greek it was found in one common intellectual life. The Old Testament conception of intercourse between persons was a long step in advance, but to the Jew life was still too much limited by the physical for the full conception of the Pauline union to appear. In the doctrine of the Paraclete as given in the Fourth Gospel there is abundant evidence of the prevalence of the idea at the time when that Gospel was written, and though it may not appear explicitly in the Synoptic Gospels, yet it is quite consonant with the doctrine of the Person of Christ which makes the four Gospels one.

Paul, however, had arrived at the doctrine, as we have already seen, by his own personal experience, and for that reason it possesses for us the greater validity. To quote again from Dr. Garvie's article, 'Religious psychology is coming to be recognized as a necessary organon of theology. . . . The theology of Paul, conceived as the struggle and the victory of a soul, appeals to the imagination and the affections as it cannot when presented as an abstract system, divorced from individual experience.' In no particular of Pauline theology is this more true than in that of the mystical union with Christ which he taught. What exactly did he mean by it? A notable answer is given by Drs. Sanday and Headlam in the *Excursus* from which we have already quoted. There it is spoken of as 'an actual identification of will.' While we hold that Paul goes much further than this, and suggests rather an identification of the whole personality of the believer with that of his Lord, yet we thankfully accept this definition as a first instalment to a completer statement. We can see at once that the complete surrender on the way to Damascus became the initial experience from which the fuller union of will would proceed. All the incidents of that memorable conversion suggest the impact of two individual wills, and of the breakdown of the human in a surrender which began in the helplessness of the blind man, but issued in the light and power and joy of later

days. Looking back upon that great event in his life Paul would understand how he might speak of a νέκρωσις which should issue in ἀνάστασις ζωῆς (John v. 29). But 'identification of will' seems an insufficient interpretation of such a statement as that of Gal. ii. 20: 'Christ liveth in me.' So complete was his surrender that Paul found in Christ a new moral consciousness, νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχοντες (1 Cor. ii. 16. See Edwards *in loco*); by that union the whole man had become καὶ ἡ κτίσις (2 Cor. v. 17). The surrender of the will, however, must always be an important part of such self-identification as shall enable a man to say 'For me to live is Christ,' and it is entirely borne out by what we hold to be the true interpretation of the Pauline and Johannine doctrine of faith; τὸ πιστεῦν εἰς Χριστόν adequately represents the self-surrender that passes into identification of life (see article 'Faith in the Fourth Gospel,' *Expositor*, August 1907), and if the act of submission might be described as πιστεῦν εἰς Χριστόν we shall not wonder that the resulting condition of blessedness should be described as being ἐν Χριστῷ, while the corresponding Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν is more than suggested by the Johannine Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐπίστευεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς (ii. 24).

An examination of the many passages in which this union is described under the Pauline phrases enables us to see that it is the master-thought of the Apostle. It dominated not only his view of man's relation to God, but it had both an ethical and a social reference as well. By it he was able to secure that true relation of the one to the many which other thinkers had sought before him. He saw that 'all things consist in Christ' (Col. i. 17). But more important even than the cosmical relation was that of man's deliverance from sin. This, and indeed all the great acts of God in the salvation of man, are said to be realized 'in Christ.' Redemption, Rom. iii. 24, Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 16. Reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 19. Justification, 1 Cor. vi. 11, Gal. ii. 17. Adoption, Gal. iii. 26, Eph. i. 11. Sanctification, 1 Cor. i. 2. Salvation, Rom. v. 11, 2 Tim. ii. 10.

By making the absolute surrender of faith St. Paul so

identified himself with his Lord that all the merits of His life and death were his. Salvation was no legal fiction. It lay in the sharing of a common life with Christ. The inheritance of God, perhaps the highest point in the Apostle's flight of thought, was through a joint-heirship with Christ.

But St. Paul found more than this. His conception applied to all relations of life. He applies it to: Freedom, Gal. ii. 4, Eph. iii. 11. Power, Eph. vi. 10. Wisdom, 1 Cor. i. 30. Love, Rom. viii. 39; and comprehensively to 'Life' in many passages, of which Rom. vi. 9, viii. 2, Gal. ii. 20, and Eph. ii. 5, 10, may serve as representatives. The whole ethical standard of the Apostle was raised by this conception. Righteousness, the ancient ideal of his people, he found at its highest *ἐν Χριστῷ*. Christ Himself became righteousness to those who were born of God in Him (1 Cor. i. 30): *ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐγενήθη . . . δικαιοσύνη*.

Freedom had become not licence; that was to make Christ *διάκονος ἁμαρτίας* (Gal. ii. 17). On the contrary it had flung around man a still finer mesh of obligation than the Law had applied. Christ became in Himself a Law (Gal. vi. 2); He was indeed *τὸ τέλος τοῦ νόμου* (Rom. x. 4). So St. James speaks of *ὁ τέλειος νόμος* (i. 25). He finds this 'law in its maturity' in freedom, and our Lord's words at once come to mind: 'If the Son shall make you free, then are ye free indeed' (John viii. 36). To James as to Paul freedom was itself a law, and was found *ἐν Χριστῷ*. The Christian ethic then, or, as St. Paul would say, *ἡ δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*, is to be found in its fulfilment when it is discovered in union with Christ.

There remains a third application of this Pauline discovery in the doctrine of the Christian Church. The Epistle to the Ephesians contains the phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ* until its very repetition threatens to make Paul's words incoherent. Only a few of its many passages bearing on this question may be cited here. It is 'in Christ' that the severed and remotest families of men are made nigh (ii. 13). Jew and Gentile are created anew, and made

into a new humanity in Christ, the union being so complete that the race might be described as 'one new man' (ii. 15). The many divisions of the Christian Church are healed thereby. In Christ 'each several building' is harmonized, and grows into one holy temple (ii. 21, 22). The Apostle prays that Christ may dwell in the hearts of those to whom he wrote, and the ultimate purpose of such indwelling was found in this, that men might be filled unto all 'the fullness of God' (iii. 19). It is easy to see how St. Paul thereby secured for the doctrine of the Church a unity and a universality, a spiritual content and a divine power, which should lift it far above the strife and jealousy of the sects. He applied his great formula to all the problems of life and thought. He found it not only an adequate solution, but also an inspiring interpretation. It lifted all thought of God and the purposes of God, of man and the complex relationships of man, and also the idea of the great human family, as it existed from the beginning in the thought of God, up into the heavens, and left the Apostle prostrate in adoration before the depth and the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God.

The rediscovery of the doctrine of the Person of Christ is the happiest feature of modern thought. It carries with it an infinite promise and potency of good. It has its message for both Socialist and Churchman. It applies to our individual life; it is the basis of all our missionary hopes. It is earnestly to be hoped that no temporary recrudescence of Gnosticism in our age may be able to divert this current of Christian thought into the channel of a crude and often inconsistent Pantheism, with its accompanying subversion of all morality. The groping hands which seem to-day to gather only dust and chaff are really feeling after that which suffices for all our need, and that is the Pauline doctrine of union with Christ. In Him we most truly live, and Christ in us will always be the hope of glory.

W. W. HOLDSWORTH.

MY IMPRESSIONS OF OXFORD

PERHAPS there is no place in the world about which so much has been said and written as the splendid and historic city of Oxford, nestling in the arms of the Isis and the Cherwell like a setting of beautiful gems. The extravagance of her natural beauty and the variety of her wondrous architecture have been for centuries an unending marvel to admiring tourists and a ceaseless pride to loyal Britons. This 'City of Spires,' with her profusion of pointed pinnacles, rounded domes, and towering battlements, which from their summits 'whisper the last enchantment of the Middle Ages,' with her green, velvety quadrangles and world-renowned walks, has beggared the descriptive powers of the ablest writers and has furnished an absorbing topic for literary tyros. She has long been the Utopian ideal of the British youth, viewed prospectively with longing anticipation in school, and retrospectively with unfading memory and undying devotion in after-life. The sketches of Oxford are legion, coloured by artists from every view-point. The picture of her which comes from the hand of the resident Briton differs from that of the transient American tourist as a canvas of some old Italian master differs from that of a modern impressionistic painter. The old Oxonian portrays her in a manner which appears lurid to the one who has dwelt in the ancient seat of learning on the banks of the Cam, and is unappreciated by those who are unfamiliar with the life of either of the great English Universities. Again, as Andrew Lang points out, the pictures drawn by Oxford men themselves are as numerous as the myriad types of undergraduates. The fact that he possesses an entirely new point of view is the only apology which an American Rhodes Scholar may offer for writing about a subject already so trite and worn.

My first impressions of Oxford were not altogether favourable, and this, I think, is true of most Rhodes Scholars who go to Oxford from this country. One could hardly expect it to be otherwise when he considers that the American youth, dropped suddenly into the unique environment of Oxford, is about as much out of his element as a fish out of the water. But, with few exceptions, they speedily adapt themselves to the new conditions; and, as soon as they have done this, Oxford becomes for them a place of enchantment, which they learn to love and revere and are loth to leave. And yet some, unfortunately, remain disgruntled to the end of their three years' career, due in every instance to a failure to conform to the conventional life of the place. Instead of casting themselves into the moulds of Oxford customs and ideas, which are indeed as immutable as the laws of the Persians and the Medes, with characteristic American boldness and energy they strive to remould and override these time-honoured traditions with the latest American fads. These misplaced endeavours do not affect Oxford life one jot or one tittle, but reflect much unhappiness upon those who are guilty of them, and are a source of annoyance to others. The maxim 'When in Rome, do as Romans do' is both wise and conducive to happiness when applied at Oxford. But be it said, again, to the credit of most of the Rhodes men, they are not so insensible and obdurate as long to 'kick against the pricks'; and wisely giving up the effort to Americanize Oxford, and docilely allowing themselves to be Oxfordized—if one may use this term—thereby convert their own dissatisfaction into happy contentment, and materially contribute to the peace of others. A love and a veneration for the old place springs up in their hearts, which continues to grow till the last moment of sojourn within her gates. I have in mind one who declared soon after his arrival at Oxford that he would resign his scholarship at the end of the first year, but who not only completed the three years, but even continued in residence at his own expense after the expiration of his scholarship.

Probably the first thing that attracted my notice after my arrival at Oxford was the ancient atmosphere of the place and what appeared to me to be old-fashioned tendencies. I thought the 'Dons' fossilized, and much of Oxford worthy of relegation to a gallery of antiquities. In fact, Macaulay somewhere expresses a similar opinion of the Oxford of his day. This feeling on my part, which was shared with the other young Americans, is no doubt accounted for by the great difference in character of American universities and the sharp contrast which Oxford presents to them. Institutions of learning on this side of the Atlantic, with a few possible exceptions, are far too young to have developed unchanging customs and stereotyped modes such as have remained inviolate at Oxford through generations of passing undergraduates. Our institutions, in their present unsettled condition, readily permit rapid changes under what we believe to be a progressive spirit—and no doubt we have more ample opportunity for progress than exists at Oxford. The simple matter of dress well illustrates the point. American college styles change annually, and vary from one extreme to the other, whereas at Oxford changes in dress are scarcely perceptible, and the soft cap, Norfolk jacket, and grey flannel trousers are well-nigh perennial. In this particular, at least, I think I prefer the Oxford way; it is certainly less troublesome and more inexpensive. It is undoubtedly true that the 'Dons' are sometimes unpractical and unacquainted with expeditious business methods—a fact which impressed itself upon Mr. Rhodes—but it is equally true that, as a rule, they are far more competent and thorough in their scholarship than our American professors. One seldom finds a 'Don' who is not kind and affable. Many display extraordinary personal interest in their 'young hopefuls,' and few fail to obtain the reverence and love of those who daily sit at their feet for instruction and guidance.

The close personal contact of tutor and tutored affords a considerable advantage, I think, over our class-room

system. In our large institutions the instructors rarely ever know the men who compose their classes in a personal way, and almost as rarely recognize them by sight outside the class-room. So acknowledged is this evil that in some of our larger universities, notably at Princeton, a system has been introduced which is similar to the Oxford tutorial system. Furthermore, the Oxford device of making everything depend upon a single searching examination seems to result in greater thoroughness and more lasting knowledge. In our colleges, where examinations are set every semester, and these upon a few specified texts, it is often easy to neglect the regular work in the class-room, and then, by a single night's 'cramming,' to make a creditable showing when the examination test comes. Knowledge which was gathered in this manner I found to be superficial and transient. 'Crammed' knowledge doesn't stick very long. At Oxford 'cramming' is a sheer impossibility. It would require several months, reading night and day, to run hastily through the volumes which might be considered the bare essentials for an Oxford Honour School. The fact that the examinations are set upon no definitely prescribed texts, but simply upon the subjects, and the additional fact that the examiners are not likely to be the tutors of the examinees or even the lecturers whom they have heard, are features which struck me as peculiarly advantageous. Under these conditions there is very little prospect of 'spotting' the questions which an examiner will ask, and it is evident that it requires more work and is productive of more lasting knowledge to master many lectures and books from various sources than to acquire the substance of a single text. To know, for example, all that is contained in Huson's book on Contracts, admirable though it is, is not to know the Law of Contract.

These are some of the salient features which impressed me about the Oxford system. In justice to our own institutions, I might say that though it appears from what I have said that our institutions lack somewhat in thoroughness,

yet this is largely offset by the breadth of our courses. Our graduates have a wider acquaintance with the various branches of knowledge and science than graduates of Oxford, even though they are apt to deal with them in glittering generalities without a thorough grasp of any one branch. Such a grasp comes with us only in the specialization which one gets in the work for a Doctor's degree or a professional course, and, as a matter of fact, undergraduate work at Oxford resembles largely the work of our graduate schools. This explains the fact, often astonishing to Americans, that at Oxford the Master's degree is acquired without additional work after one has taken the Bachelor's degree. All that is necessary is the lapse of a certain period of time and the payment of fees. It also explains largely the fact that Doctors' degrees are merely honorary.

The athletic spirit is more wide-spread at Oxford, though less intense than in this country. Those who take part in athletics here are almost as few as those who do not over there. The book-worm is rarely met at Oxford, and those who do not take some part in the athletic life are rarer still. At Pembroke College we had about eighty undergraduates, being the smallest college at Oxford, but almost every member of the college represented it in some phase of sport. I can remember days when an actual majority of us were engaged in intercollegiate contests of various kinds on the same afternoon. But where athletes are the rule and not the exception, they cease to be heroes and demigods. The great oarsman, footballer, or cricketer in England does not see his picture in the daily papers and read lurid accounts of his prowess on the water and the gridiron. This is seldom done even for the most celebrated 'Blues.' The number of men engaged is a greater test for the utility of athletics than the extraordinary excellence of a few representing the college or university. Measured by this utilitarian principle of the 'greatest benefit to the greatest number' we are far behind 'old-fashioned' Oxford in this respect. Again, no American

who indulges in sport at Oxford will fail to be impressed by the gentlemanly and equitable character of the contests. Unnecessary roughness in football is conspicuous for its absence, and wrangling is unknown. I played tennis in my college six for the three years of my stay at Oxford, and I have never known a disagreement, though the players make all the decisions themselves without an umpire or other third party. The most commendable thing, however, is the complete absence of professionalism. This germ, which oftentimes has killed athletics in our institutions, is non-existent at Oxford, and no questions ever arise as regards eligibility and amateur standing.

The first Rhodes Scholars were an unending source of amusement in many ways for some time after their arrival, but there were no end of things which struck them as comical. I was often conscious of being a laughing-stock, but quite as frequently I had a laugh at the expense of my English cousins. During our early days at Oxford, many of us created a good deal of amusement by appearing on the river in the many-coloured garbs of our native institutions, instead of donning the conventional white sweaters and 'shorts.' One day I appeared wearing the yellow 'V' of Vanderbilt University on my breast. The privilege of wearing the 'Varsity letter in this country corresponds to the prerogative of wearing the blue at Oxford or Cambridge. An Englishman seeing me from one of the barges inquired of a Rhodes Scholar, who happened to be standing near: 'What does that V stand for?' 'It stands for Vanderbilt,' was the reply. 'Oh!' exclaimed the young Briton. 'Is that Mr. Vanderbilt?'

My days at Oxford are branded deep into my heart, and already I look upon them as the most potent years of my life; but I anticipate that as time goes by and I get a wider perspective of them that I shall realize more fully their true significance. I am now convinced that when I went to England I was filled with many prejudices, and my opinions of things British were badly warped. And this is generally true of Americans, whose patriotism and

love for their own country receives its first impulse from and is fostered by the stories of the Revolutionary War and the deplorable annals of 1812.

The life at Oxford destroyed in me those germs of enmity, and engendered in their stead a feeling of love and pride in the marvellous old mother-country, whose past history is unequalled even by that of ancient Greece or lordly Rome, and whose flag has gone around the world with civilization, peace, and good-will following in its wake. As the years fly by, the hearts of the Rhodes Scholars will beat with ever-increasing love for our royal, imperial Alma Mater, and with deepening gratitude to our great benefactor—Cecil John Rhodes.

J. J. TIGERT.

TODAS AND TIBETANS: A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGION

The Todas. By W. H. R. RIVERS. (Macmillan & Co. 1906.)

Lhasa: An Account of the Country and People of Central Tibet, and of the Progress of the Mission sent there by the English Government in the year 1903-4. Written, with the help of all the principal persons of the Mission, by PERCIVAL LONDON, special correspondent of *The Times*. (Hurst & Blackett. 1905.)

India. By PIERRE LOTI. (English Translation: T. Werner Laurie.)

THE authors of the above three books would probably be surprised to see them placed together, for there is very little in common amongst them. The first is a dry, scientific study of a peculiar and primitive hill tribe in South India; the second is a brilliant description of the British Expedition to Lhasa, and of the people of Tibet; while the third consists chiefly of the rhapsodies of an impressionist, prepared to find mystery in India, but too sceptical to believe in it. Yet there is in all of them material for the student of religion, and that of a valuable kind.

In the East have arisen those permanent religions of the world that have influenced vast masses of mankind: Buddhism, that conglomerate known as Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. While religion has everywhere existed, nowhere has it flourished on such an elaborate and prolific scale as in the East. Thither turn the steps of those who seek to solve its mystery, but how often does the pilgrim return baffled, realizing that the mystery is inscrutable and that no earthly pilgrimage can slake the thirst of the soul.

Pierre Loti, a member of the French Academy, is such a seeker. He had ceased to hold the Christian faith, but still regarded it as a beautiful dream which he would fain find real. With a mystic, sensuous nature, he was ready to accept all that India could teach of the mystery of the spirit life and the life beyond. But at every step he was repelled. This is how he describes his visit to the great temple of Tinnevely :

Our carriage soon passes under a granite archway framed by square columns of primitive style. Five ramparts once passed, we find ourselves in a square enclosure open to the shining stars. This I am not allowed to cross. . . . With my eyes I seek to penetrate the dim obscurities of the sacred temple whose infinite recesses are outlined by many twinkling and mysterious lamps. I am allowed to look from here, but I must not approach or gaze too long. . . . The temple seems to my stealthy gaze to be of infinite extent. Endless rows of columns rise from an obscurity which the many-lighted lamps are powerless to dispel. The air is filled with sounds of prayer and chanted psalms, while white-robed forms flit dimly across the dark background. . . . This is my first visit to a Brahmin temple, but I immediately receive a hostile impression, a dismal feeling of dread and heathenish idolatry. I had not expected this, nor yet that I should have been refused admission. How childish were the hopes that I had cherished, I who had hoped to find some ray of light in the religion of our Indian ancestors. Oh ! for the sweet, deceptive peace of our Christian churches which are open to all, and kind even to those who can believe no longer.

This is typical of the reception Pierre Loti met with everywhere in India. He had introductions to Mahārājas, who were prepared to show him all that was possible, but he felt that though he saw vast temples, bejewelled gods and goddesses, gorgeous processions, priceless temple treasures, and venerable priests in great numbers, yet he came in contact with the external only, and that the Brahman, if he had any esoteric mysteries, guarded them with the greatest jealousy. He was prepared to appreciate

the idolatry and find in it the symbol of the mystery he sought, but it filled him with inexpressible surprise and horror. He did not lightly give up his quest of the mystery, for he visited many a sacred shrine; but everywhere he had to be content with the outside of the temple and worship from afar. At the sacred city of Benares he sought the Masters, who profess to know the great secret, and there he found that 'one high amongst them is a European woman, who has come here to seek shelter from the turmoil of the world.' This impressionist pilgrim ends his search for the mystery of mysteries by sitting at the feet of Mrs. Besant! Brahmanism has been a veiled shrine for millenniums; it has evolved its own ritual and philosophy of religion, seeking the One among the many, striving to attain the loftiest flights of human thought; and yet the highest manifestation of that thought that poor Pierre Loti, an Immortal, could find was Mrs. Besant, and he joined the Theosophists. What irony and yet what sadness! Those who, like Pierre Loti, seek the solution of the problems of life, suffering, death, immortality in the philosophic teaching of the higher Hinduism, are doomed to failure. There is much that is fascinating, a little that is uplifting; but the whole is bewildering and ends in hopeless paradox.

It may be said that Hinduism has not had freedom to develop. From the beginning tumult and war have raged over the plains of Hindustan, and when pillage and slaughter prevail, the study of the divine mysteries is retarded. Various nations and races have roved through the land, and their presence has prevented, it may be said, the evolution of Hinduism. It has been compelled to accommodate itself, to compromise, and we must not look in it for the purest and highest development of religious thought and life. Whatever may be the explanation, he who seeks will not find, Pierre Loti being witness.

But there are two tribes—one in India and the other on its northern border—which for centuries have been cut off from external influences, and thus have been free to evolve

the highest religious thought and practice. The Todas and Tibetans were near enough to the religious East to secure a favourable start; they have been undisturbed while their religion has been evolved; their situation was helpful to meditation and profound thought; and latterly the secrets of both tribes, guarded with most jealous care, have been revealed. It is manifest that no supernatural revelation has been vouchsafed to these tribes: what then have they contributed to man's knowledge of God, what solution of the problems of life, what revelation of the future?

The Todas are a small Dravidian tribe, consisting of about a thousand souls, living on the Nilgiri mountains in the centre of South India. It is presumed they came from the Malabar, or west, coast of India; but when, how, or why no man knows. The earliest historical notice of the tribe is in 1602, when a Portuguese priest visited them, having heard that they were degenerate Christians whose forefathers had become Christians through the preaching of the Apostle Thomas. He found no trace of Christianity amongst them, and their mode of life has varied little from that time to this. The Nilgiri mountains rise to a height of nearly nine thousand feet, and the parts inhabited by the Todas vary from six to seven thousand feet. The mountains for ages were difficult of access, and consequently the tribe has been left alone to evolve its religion.

Directly one sees the men and women of this tribe he is struck with the contrast they present in appearance to the dwellers on the plains. The men are tall, well proportioned and robustly built; they are strong and very agile, and stand fatigue well. They hold themselves erect, and have an air of superiority in their carriage. The tribe, however, is illiterate. The people have a language of their own, but they never reduced it to writing, and they have therefore no literature. Mr. Rivers went amongst them as an anthropologist, studied them diligently, and of their intellectual capacity he writes:

Mr. Rivers

In all my work with the men it seemed to me that they were extremely intelligent. They grasped readily the points of any inquiry upon which I entered, and often showed a marked appreciation of complicated questions. . . . It is very difficult to estimate general intelligence, and to compare definitely the intelligence of different individuals, still more of people of different races. I can only record my impression, after several months' close intercourse with the Todas, that they were just as intelligent as one would have found any average body of educated Europeans. . . . I had slighter opportunities of estimating the intelligence of the women than that of the men, but, as a general rule, it seemed to me that there was a very marked difference between the two sexes. Some of the younger women, when examined by various tests, showed as ready a grasp of the methods as any of the men, but most of the elder women gave me the impression of being extremely stupid.

Here, then, is a tribe that has been practically isolated for centuries; that has had perfect quiet, for the wars that have been waged in India have not come nigh them; that has had complete freedom, for the Todas have ever been the lords of the hills, and regard themselves as superior to the other tribes that have more recently migrated thither; and that is possessed of intelligence as high as that of the average educated European. What religion has this tribe evolved? What contribution has it made to man's higher life? What is the moral and spiritual condition of its people?

We cannot tell what religion these people brought with them to the hills, neither do we know the ethical and social customs they then followed; but it is probable they migrated thither before the Aryan invasion and possibly before Buddha's teaching pervaded South India, consequently they followed the cultus of the aboriginal Dravidian tribes, though now they have departed widely from them. For long they have carefully guarded the secrets of their religion, and it is possible that Mr. Rivers has not elicited all that the Todas believe and practise; yet he and other careful observers have succeeded in obtaining the main

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principles and practices of their religion, while their ordinary manner of life is generally known. What, then, do these people now worship? and what is their conception of divine things?

Their sacred buildings are practically similar to their huts, which are shaped like half a barrel cut through lengthways and placed on the ground. The entrance is so small that one must go on one's hands and knees to enter the sacred hut, within which there is sometimes an ancient bell of no intrinsic value, in others nothing but a set of pots and vessels used for dairy purposes. The temple is a dairy; the priest is a dairyman; the prayer offered is a series of requests for blessings on the buffaloes, for their protection from tigers, and for plenty of grass on which they may feed; the ritual is the milking of buffaloes, the placing of some milk on the sacred bell, and the churning of milk into butter. As far as can be ascertained, there is no other kind of worship. They fear demons, and practise magic to some extent; but anything like a spiritual conception of God is not to be found. In their folk-lore there are stories of gods who are like deified heroes, but they have little or nothing to do with the ways of men.

The religion of this tribe is, then, one of pure selfishness, for the Todas are a pastoral people, living on the produce of their herds of buffaloes, and the purpose of their religion, if it may be called a religion, is to preserve to themselves the benefits of this life. No woman is allowed to share in the work of the dairy, not even in the milking of the buffaloes. Men in their ordinary state are not worthy to perform the duties of the dairy, but after a most elaborate series of purificatory ceremonies a man can undertake the task, but he is not a priest in any sense of the term. His ceremonial purity and his prayers refer only to the buffaloes and the dairy. He must live and act so that no harm may come to the herds and that milk and butter may abound.

The morals of the Todas are not of a high order. They are fairly truthful and trustworthy, if their own interests

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are not concerned. There is much quarrelling, and female infanticide was common till put down by law. The position of women is degrading, for they are not fit even to cook. Their work is to husk the grain by pounding, sift it, and sweep the house. In the relations existing between the sexes it is scarcely possible for a tribe to fall to a lower level. Polyandry and polygyny are both practised, the former especially, for a woman marries all the brothers of a family. There is no word for adultery in the Toda language. Mr. Rivers says:

A woman may have one or more recognized lovers as well as several husbands. . . . It appears she may have sexual relations with dairymen of various grades. . . . Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong.

The Todas have no arts or handicrafts of any kind. In their social organization and tribal customs there is much that is interesting. They appear to be a primitive tribe that has ceased to develop or that has degenerated. It is manifest that this isolated tribe has not evolved anything that is of value in the moral and religious sphere, and that in many respects it is scarcely possible for them to become more degraded.

The Tibetans have perhaps been cut off from external influences more completely than the Todas. The difficulties experienced by persons other than Buddhists in travelling in Tibet are well known, and the Tibetans, being satisfied with their own religion, were not likely to be influenced by other faiths. There was, then, the most favourable opportunity for religion to evolve higher forms, if it is possible for natural religion so to do. The Tibetans had, moreover, to begin with, a most valuable religious germ-cell, and they have had a long period for that cell to evolve. Buddhism became the religion of Tibet in the seventh century, and has had from twelve to thirteen centuries in which to develop. Early Buddhism was a comparatively

pure faith. In regard to spiritual beings it was agnostic : Buddha did not know God, but he knew that life was evil and must be renounced, and that to him to whom enlightenment came there would be no rebirth. To attain enlightenment there must be pure thoughts, pure words, pure deeds. The ' noble eight-fold path ' reveals a high morality : right views, right resolves, right words, right behaviour, right mode of livelihood, right exertion, right memory, right meditation and tranquillity. The Tibetans, with this lofty moral creed as a starting-point, had in their isolation exceptional advantages in developing a religion that should purify and elevate mankind.

The Tibetans possess great intelligence, and some of the arts have been so developed that great technical skill and knowledge were necessary to produce those vast works that impress all who behold them with their majesty and their beauty. The Potala, or great palace, at Lhasa compares favourably for massiveness and general effect with the greatest buildings of any land; the paintings and decorations of monasteries reveal a taste and technique not to be despised, while tomes of sacred lore abound in the libraries of the lamas. The Tibetans have proved their capacity for development, and if the best religion is a product of evolution, without any revelation from above, we should naturally expect to find such a religion in Tibet. Shut out from the world by the highest mountain ranges, with monasteries well supplied with the necessities of life, with a creed teaching a lofty morality, the lamas had every opportunity of using their intelligence and spiritual insight to fathom the depths of man's moral and spiritual nature, to discover the way by which he might renounce and overcome the base and vile, and rise step by step to that perfection of character in which purity, truth, righteousness, and spirituality abound. The lamas had full authority to meditate, to teach, and to enforce their rule, for Mr. Landon says : ' The Lamaic hierarchy have succeeded in creating a religious caste unparalleled in the world.' With all these advantages how have the people developed?

What is the state of morality amongst them? What is the condition of the lamas? What is the nature of the religion practised?

The Tibetans are a kindly, hospitable race, and they have in them great possibilities, but their religion has been their ruin. Mr. Landon's deliberate judgement is:

In Tibet, after a sanction has been obtained, which for strength has been surpassed by nothing elsewhere held out for the admiration or the terror of men, we find that the religion thereby enforced is not merely neglectful of the development or even of the continued existence of its professing members, but is even detrimental to it.

Lamaism has been allowed, if I may use a common phrase, to stew in its own juice until the goodness has entirely departed from it and from the people who are its official ministers. It is difficult at this moment to point to a single recognized and observed ordinance peculiar to Lamaism which is of the slightest use or virtue.

The religion of Tibet hangs like a dark pall over the people, producing paralysis of every part of their nature, and preventing their development whether physically, mentally, morally, or spiritually.

Physically the Tibetan is weak, though capable of extraordinary activity. Polyandry is generally practised, and this does not increase the physical stamina of the race. Dirt, which of course in so cold a climate is not so obnoxious as in warmer climes, abounds everywhere. Garments are rarely, if ever, washed, and they are 'open to more objections than the presence of inanimate dirt alone presents'; while the body is so encased with dirt that the colour of the skin can with difficulty be determined, for 'they exist from the cradle, or what corresponds to it, to the stone slab on which their dead bodies are hacked to pieces, without a bath or even a partial cleansing of any kind.' The people are kept in a state of profound ignorance by the lamas, for to educate the laymen 'would be to strike at the root of Lamaic supremacy, and, therefore, the whole land is sunk in an ignorance to which it would

be difficult to find a parallel.' In spite of the Buddhist teaching of the sacredness of all life, 'there is the inevitable Oriental insensibility to the sufferings' of animals. Women are kept in ignorance, and 'they remain merely the toys or the beasts of burden of their male acquaintances. It need not be said that, in the conventional sense of the word, morals are unknown in Tibet.' The religion of the masses is practically that of demon-worship, and pictures or images of 'these loathsome and misshapen monsters, aureoled with the fire of hell, with dripping fangs and beastly deformities,' are placed at the gates and forecourts of the temples. These terrify the passer-by into obedience to his lama, and that is all the lama requires. It is difficult, then, to find a lower stage of humanity to which the Tibetan can descend.

But what of the lamas? Have they not developed a high type of morality and spirituality? Is not the lama in Kipling's *Kim* a typical Tibetan monk? Are there not in Tibet those Mahâtmas that possess the secrets of the universe and know the only path by which man ascends to the divine? We have seen Tibetan lamas at and near Darjeeling with attractive faces, turning their prayer-wheels with a wearisome monotony, and Mr. Landon says: 'Once or twice in the quiet, unworldly abbots of such monasteries as Dongtse or Ta-ka-re one saw an attractive and almost impressive type of man; but the heads of the hierarchy are very different men, and by them the country is ruled with a rod of iron.' There are two chief lamas: the Dalai or Grand Lama of Lhasa, who fled on the approach of the British Expedition and has not yet returned to his throne, and the Tashi Lama, or Grand Lama of Tashi-lhunpo. Both are supposed to be reincarnations of Buddha, speaking in a non-technical sense. The technical position of these men belongs to the metaphysics of Lamaism, and is foreign to our purpose. Suffice it to say that the Grand Lama of Lhasa is practically regarded as divine, and has all power in his hands. Usually he is a minor, when a regent or king, also a lama, bears sway. Such are the

morals of these rulers that it rarely happens that a Grand Lama attains the age of eighteen. The present lama is the first exception for a hundred years, and he escaped from the power of the regent only by sending him and his followers to prison on a charge of witchcraft, where they speedily died. The present incarnation of the mystic Buddha is described by Captain O'Connor as 'a man of pronounced traits of character, violent temper, and stormy passions.' It is interesting to read that this incarnation and the Emperor of China cannot arrange a meeting, for celestial etiquette is apparently difficult to apply to earthly conditions. These incarnations of the mild Buddha rule ruthlessly. According to Mr. Landon, 'No priestly caste in the history of religion has ever fostered and preyed upon the terror and ignorance of its flock with the systematic brigandage of the lamas.'

The dogma of reincarnation dominates the lamas, and they turn it to account in every possible way. Mr. Landon states: 'The present Dalai Lama made for political reasons a sudden and convenient discovery that Tsong-kapa, the great reformer of Lamaism, was reincarnated in the person of the Tsar of Russia.'

Queen Victoria was regarded as one of the guardians of Tibet and as the reincarnation of Palden-lhamo. This was doubtless intended as a compliment, but this guardian deity is described as:

A dark-blue lady with three eyes, who sits upon a chestnut mule drinking blood from a skull and trampling under foot the torn and mutilated bodies of men and women. Her crown is composed of skulls, her eye-teeth are four inches long, and the bridle, girths, and crupper are living snakes kept in position by the dripping skin of a recently flayed man.

The proof that Queen Victoria was the guardian deity of Tibet was manifest from the fact that during her reign the country was free from invasion, but after her death and before the reincarnation of the deity the English troops bore down on Lhasa.

The lamas themselves are completely under the spell of this doctrine of reincarnation, and this drives them to their religious duties. How this works is thus described by Mr. Landon:

The fear of punishment is ever under his eye. Here is an example. The ordinary man in the country will slip his outer garment down over his shoulders and spend a lazy hour in the heat of the sun in detecting and exterminating the almost invisible vermin which inhabit his robe. But to the lama this is forbidden, for there can never be an hour in his skin-tormented life in which he does not remember that his loathsome parasites may have deserved their present fate by carelessness in some point of ritual during their life on earth—nay, that he may even himself be then awaiting the imminent moment in which he shall join their creeping company.

This haunting dread will lead to the most extraordinary asceticism in the hope of gaining merit. No more pathetic story is told than that of a visit by Mr. Landon and Captain O'Connor to the monks immured in their rock cells at Nyen-dé-kyi-buk. These men voluntarily shut themselves up for a first period of six months, then for three years and ninety-three days, and lastly for life. That morning a hermit had died after having lived in darkness for twenty-five years. Once a day the stone window of the cell is tapped, when water and a cake of unleavened bread are placed on a slab outside the window. The stone shutter is pushed back from within, and 'a hand, muffled in a tightly-wound piece of dirty cloth, for all the world like the stump of an arm, was painfully thrust up, and very weakly it felt along the slab. After a fruitless fumbling the hand slowly quivered back again into the darkness.' This is all the contact the hermit has with the outer world.

The religion of the lamas is a round of mechanical ritual, and the effect of their teaching is to produce pure selfishness—the saving of one's own soul, regardless of the doom of others. Magic plays a large part in religious matters, and workers of miracles can readily be found; but

in them all there is nothing of true moral and spiritual life. Stories regarding the immured hermits and magicians have doubtless spread to India, and given rise to Madame Blavatsky's 'Mahātmās.' The ruling Mahātmās of Tibet, instead of being those pure spiritual beings with all divine knowledge, are spiritual tyrants of the worst type. If there are true Mahātmās in Tibet, they have done nothing to save the people from spiritual thralldom or to raise their morals.

And what is the greatest symbol and highest glory of Lhasa? Mr. Landon with two companions—probably the only Europeans ever allowed the honour—was privileged to enter the most sacred shrine of Lhasa—the Jo-kang. Great are the marvels of this wonderful cathedral, decorated with gorgeous paintings, filled with priceless treasures of gold and gems, and guarded with most jealous care. They went through courtyards and past shrines in which the dirt of centuries lay undisturbed, till they came to 'the most famous idol in the world.' The Jo is a seated image of Gautama Buddha, about twice life size and made of gold. But it is not the image of Buddha after he had obtained enlightenment, but of 'Gautama as a pure and eager prince, without a thought for the morrow, or a care for to-day.' And this is Lhasa's greatest spiritual treasure!

What, then, has Tibet to teach us in matters ethical and spiritual? Her people are degraded, her priests are tyrannical, her religion is mechanical, her divinest symbol represents one 'without a thought for the morrow, or a care for to-day.' With all its initial advantages—the pure morality but agnostic system of Buddha; with an isolation almost sealed, so that no foreign or evil influence might arrest its development; with men of intellectual and spiritual capacity, as their works bear witness, Tibet has contributed nothing to the moral and spiritual development of mankind. It has demonstrated that a selfish isolation works only moral decay and spiritual death.

When two tribes, like the Todas and Tibetans,

separated from the social and religious life of their fellow men, undisturbed by external wars, free to develop the best they are capable of, and possessing every capacity and opportunity for progress, not only fail to rise in morals and spirituality, but sink into a state of unutterable moral degradation and hopeless spiritual decay, we can only conclude that unaided man must grope in darkness, become debased and corrupt, and be incapable of evolving a moral and spiritual faith, even under the best conditions.

Must it not also be true that the religion which has taught the purest morality, the highest altruism, the most reasonable spirituality, and which has produced types of character almost perfect in purity, in goodness, in self-sacrifice, in heroism, in spiritual perception and power—the religion that centres round the cradle of Bethlehem and the cross of Calvary—must it not be true that this religion has come from above, and is the manifestation of Him who is eternally holy, who is Spirit, who is Love?

H. GULLIFORD.

Notes and Discussions

PROFESSOR CHURTON COLLINS

An Appreciation

WHEN one has suddenly lost a valued friend it is hard to say precisely what one thought of him, yet harder to neutralize the glamour of affectionate remembrance and see the man exactly as he was. Yet this must be done—or one must try to do it—if friendship is not to neglect its duty and to forgo its right.

That untimely death by Oulton Broad has deprived me of a very dear friend, and English life of a teacher beyond most others ennobling and scholarly, and now I would put together one poor wreath of commemorative words for him who—to us who stand in the latest tracks of Time—so often made the noblest words of the past eloquent with the message of an immortal hope.

Why was Churton Collins so dear to us? One thinks of his courtesy—learned in a school remote from the vulgar anarchy of the modern world's self-pleasing, and fragrant with the grace of a quieter (if narrower) day. One thinks of his sincerity, of his devotion to truth in literature and to truth in life, of his almost quixotic chivalry whenever the meanness of men tolerated injustice or their paltry selfishness would desecrate his ideals. One thinks too, more tenderly, more regretfully, of his simple-mindedness. Churton Collins had no part in the complex pettiness of those shallow souls who live by intrigue and self-advertisement. He lived sincerely for the highest truth that he saw, and it seemed to him almost incredibly ignoble for men to live otherwise. Each new glimpse of those less excellent ways which most men follow moved him to new indignation and fired him with new disgust. He believed unfalteringly in Truth and Righteousness. These were the sovereigns of his life, and he gave to them an allegiance without reservations. His loyalty to them was the unselfish loyalty of an unspoiled heart. Always he sought, not his own things but theirs—the

things that are eternally honourable, lovely, and of good report—and in his labour for those things he never spared himself. His passion for them was a romantic chivalry. He was not indifferent to this world's gifts, not indifferent to visible success and the praise of men; but he never condescended for them, nor to gain them would he swerve one hair's-breadth from the narrow way. And this lonely fidelity to the highest that we know was not a Stoic's self-assertion nor a philosopher's self-confidence. It was the trust of a child-like heart. Churton Collins had no metaphysic that could enthrone Righteousness in the heart of things. He listened to a voice within his own heart, and what he heard he obeyed. Unquestioningly? No, but trustingly. He heard what we all hear, but he heard without our self-created distractions, and he obeyed without our compromises and evasions. There was in his nature that large-souled simplicity which is a characteristic note of all moral greatness, and a concomitant (at least) of the noblest intellectual greatness. One could not behold it without a purging of the soul.

This idealism of temperament gave to Prof. Collins his distinctive place as a teacher of English Literature. A scholar with but few peers, his interest in literature was not merely a scholar's interest. To him Poetry was more than 'a criticism of life'—it was the articulate voice of life, the utterance of man's immemorial yearning for a Good better than that made visible in his everyday success. And it was more than this, for it was a revelation of that unrealized Good. When outward oracles are dumb or ambiguous, and Reason proves ineffective, Poetry (thought Prof. Collins) can still win for man that truth which those other things would win but cannot. It speaks to us in symbols, but the symbols are real symbols, and not mere imaginings; in receiving them (he thought) we veritably receive that truth which is the appointed bread of our highest life. If a man's religion be that whereby he rises above the contradictions of Nature against his loftiest hope, then Literature was Churton Collins's religion. In his hands Literature was not a mere matter of texts and dates, it was a message and an inspiration. As a teacher and as a student his work was all of one piece. His industry, his unselfish devotion to the ideals of sound scholarship, witnessed to the same lofty faith that breathed through his interpretations of the master-minds of Poesy. By example no less than by precept he made us value

Truth and Righteousness for their own sake, and then he strengthened us to trust. In this modern world—so full of contradictions and doubts, so full of selfish rivalries and false ambitions—that is no small thing to have done.

Although Churton Collins mixed much with men and took an active part in affairs, and although his interests were wide and varied, one received the impression that his life was, to some extent, a lonely one. His very devotion to his ideals somewhat separated him from the sympathy he valued. The world is not always a kindly place for those whose lives tacitly bear witness to and for a nobler excellence than its own.

Yet his days were not without refreshment. His words enriched the lives of many, and now and again their gratitude found expression. Such gratitude was the recompense he prized most highly. To him the study of Literature was primarily a humane discipline—a means of making life intrinsically more valuable—and he used it, not merely to impart a few facts of history and philology, but to widen the thoughts of men, to uplift their vision, to quicken their hope, to give them nobler interests, to confirm their faith in those things that make human life most truly worth the living. He desired nothing more than to know that his work was not wholly fruitless. Alike in conceiving of his work and in defining the reward of it, he was profoundly unselfish.

Yet one word more. Although incredulous of things that many of us find valuable, Prof. Collins was a man of deeply religious temperament. His faith in our highest ideals was matched by an equal faith that the order of the world is a moral order—an order sustained and governed by a Providence which pre-ordains the steps of a man's life and controls the issues of his work. It comforted him to think that underneath all the broken and ineffective lives of men, underneath all the tragedy of their suffering and sin, there are the Everlasting Arms. Almost his last conversation with me, only a few short weeks ago, expressed the comfort which this thought gave to him.

Now he has gone to Him in whom he trusted. *Infelix opportunitate mortis*, and yet fortunate was he in at least this—in that he went before inexorable Time had rendered the days barren and made work only a memory and a regret. He has gone—ripe scholar, true friend, perfect gentleman. *Requiescat in pace.*

HAKLUYT EGERTON.

RECENT THOUGHT IN RELATION TO THE PERSON OF CHRIST

THE cardinal question for those who profess and call themselves Christians is still—What think ye of Christ? The touchstone of Christian doctrine is still found in its attitude towards the Person of our Lord. Still, as at the beginning of Church history, there are men strenuously claiming the name Christian for whom Jesus of Nazareth is no more than 'that prophet,' or the Ideal Man, or the Teacher of supreme ethical insight and spiritual power, or a Leader in the long roll of witnesses endowed with the Divine Spirit, and faithful unto death in behalf of the truth they proclaimed.

It is often taken for granted that modern criticism of the New Testament has greatly strengthened the position of those who revere the name and memory of Jesus, but deny the orthodox doctrine of God Incarnate for man's salvation. The analysis of the Gospel narratives, the theories of 'sources' upon which the evangelists drew for information, the close investigation of the earliest history of the records have, if we are to believe some confident critics, undermined the basis of faith in the Divinity of Christ by showing the process by which that faith came into existence. The late date and 'unhistorical character' of the Fourth Gospel are supposed to be first established. Then the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark is shown, and the comparative 'untrustworthiness' of material not found in the earliest Gospel. Then Mark is analysed, and the 'Petrine portion' of that document distinguished from the rest. St. Paul's writings—some of which are, of course, chronologically the earliest of all—are discounted as the utterances of a teacher with a new 'interpretation' of Christ, one who was indeed the founder of a new religion, 'Christianity,' quite distinct from the 'religion of Jesus.' It is time, these modern critics urge, to go back, not to the Christ of the New Testament, of Paul and John, even of Matthew and Luke, but to the 'Jesus' who may be discerned in a portion of St. Mark, from whom the 'Christ' of the early Church has been developed.

These criticisms and speculations do not disturb the faith of the multitude, they have not indeed penetrated much beyond the circle of scholarly students of the New Testament. But

some such results as we have described are now freely set forth as the 'conclusions of the best and most recent scholarship.' The influence of German writers differing so widely as Schmiedel and Harnack, Holtzmann, Wernle, and Wrede, the modernism of Loisy, the rationalism of Pfleiderer, and the free 'Fideism' of men like Auguste Sabatier, have all tended to loosen the faith of many in some of the great fundamental truths of Christianity and the doctrine of the Incarnation at the centre of all.

It is, therefore, a pleasure to draw attention to a book which meets critics of the Gospels upon their own ground, and shows that all the research of recent years into the 'origins' of Christianity need not disturb the ancient faith concerning the Person of Christ. A writer not previously known, the Rev. C. F. Nolloth, has published with Messrs. Macmillan a volume entitled *The Person of our Lord and Recent Thought*. We should like heartily to recommend it especially to our ministerial readers whose minds may have been more or less disturbed by the criticism of the Gospels adopted by (e. g.) several writers in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Mr. Nolloth is nothing if not candid. He assumes no orthodox traditions. He does not rely upon the evidence of the Fourth Gospel, except for occasional illustration. He accepts the prevailing critical theory of the Synoptic tradition, including the dependence of Matthew and Luke on Mark and the 'Logia' or 'Q' document. He even admits for the purposes of argument the distinction between a 'Petrine' portion of Mark and other sources not quite so trustworthy. And he undertakes to show that what is admitted by scholars of what are known as 'advanced' schools of thought is sufficient for the building up of a doctrine of the Person of Christ not materially differing from that which has, ever since the time—twenty-five years after the death of our Lord—when St. Paul wrote the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, formed the basis and groundwork of Christian faith.

It is impossible here to sketch Mr. Nolloth's argument. Our chief object is to draw attention to his book. The excellence of it is that it shows intimate acquaintance with recent thought and criticism, that its notes are crowded with pertinent references to and extracts from the chief critics of our time, and that calmly and moderately a well-wrought argument is built up, based upon conclusions as to the composition of the Gospels accepted by the best 'advanced' scholars of to-day.

Mr. Nolloth believes that whilst some unsettlement of belief has been caused by recent New Testament criticism, 'the main result will be a great gain, and that the Person of the Son of God will, as the years pass, be seen in clearer outline and in more convincing reality than at any former period of Christian thought.' In the full belief that his able, thorough, and candid treatise on the subject will help largely to promote such a result in this country, we have taken the opportunity to introduce the book somewhat fully to our readers. Its value can only be appreciated by careful study.

W. T. DAVISON.

THE BRONTËS

WHEN Mr. Augustine Birrell wrote his little book on Charlotte Brontë, he stated that Mrs. Gaskell had written the Brontë story once and for all. Mr. Clement Shorter appears to agree with this statement in the first sentence of his preface, but yet feels that there is room for something beyond a standard biography. Hence we have two big volumes¹ containing much that has been published before, but also many letters which have not hitherto seen the light. The volumes have been eagerly expected by Brontë enthusiasts for some time, and expectation has now given place to a welcome that must be very acceptable to Mr. Shorter. To those who have not fallen under the dominance of the Brontë enthusiasm it will probably appear that too much has already been written about the three shy girls who lived upon the borders of a Yorkshire moor, and that we have had a plain, sad story presented to us with more detail than we are entitled to know. Mrs. Humphry Ward has remarked upon the English love of the pathetic and picturesque in life and literature, and to this only can we attribute that personal interest in the Brontës which finds its complete exposition in the Brontë Society and its apostle in Mr. Clement Shorter. The Brontë Society has shown an extraordinary energy in the collection and preserva-

¹ *The Brontës: Life and Letters.* By Clement Shorter. Two Volumes. (Hodder and Stoughton. 25s. net.)

tion at Haworth of everything that it could lay its hands upon connected with the Brontës, from all available MSS. down to the dog-collar of Emily's dog and a walking-stick of a man who was the father of a girl who was for a time a servant at the parsonage.

There will, not unnaturally, be some complaint that Mr. Clement Shorter has not shown that reticence which becomes an author and an editor, and we understand that Lord Morley and Mr. Augustine Birrell advised against the publication of further letters. Many people hold, in contradiction to a modern tendency encouraged by the Press, that it is the duty of a faithful biographer to withhold as well as to impart, to repress as well as to expand, and to give only such detail as is necessary for a proper conception of the whole. They can point to the fact that Charlotte Brontë died before she had reached her fortieth year, that all her sisters died at even younger ages, and that Charlotte lived, except for a few short years of semi-publicity, a quiet obscure life in a country parsonage, her life, save for its all-too-frequent sorrows, unmarked by any outward event. This, it is very evident, is the antithesis of the view taken by Mr. Shorter, who seems now, after liberally editing Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, and supplementing this some eleven years ago by his own book, *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*, to have gathered together all his material into the book we have now before us, the result being over seven hundred letters connected only by very brief explanatory notes. We doubt whether the quotation of Charlotte's letters *in extenso* is always fair to Charlotte herself. Many of them would never have been written had the shadow of the thought that they might be published some day ever crossed the writer's mind, and not a few of those who admit the genius which inspired *Jane Eyre* and *Villette* do not see the necessity of following the writer into the milliner's shop or the kitchen.

Two short quotations must illustrate this point, though the illustration could be multiplied. Charlotte writes to her friend, Ellen Nussey: 'By the by, I meant to ask you when you went to Leeds to do a small errand for me. . . . It was merely this: in case you chanced to be in any shop where the lace cloaks, both black and white, of which I spoke, were sold, to ask their price. . . . I should like to see them, and also some chemisettes of small size (the full woman's size does not fit

me), both of simple style, for everyday and for best.' And again, from her letter to the servant concerning the preparation for a visit of a friend: 'The table-cloths had better be put on the dining-room tables; you will have something prepared that will do for supper—perhaps a nice piece of cold boiled ham would be as well as anything, as it would come in for breakfast in the morning.' Other instances could be cited, in the letter 'presumably to a servant-maid that had been engaged for the parsonage' at the end of chapter seventeen, in the postscript to Letter 633, and, most flagrant of all from the point of view of editorial discretion, the inclusion of the medical advice given to Ellen Nussey by Charlotte in Letter 564.

It is generally agreed that biography should appeal to all of us as a noble form of literature, and should always be essentially helpful. It appeals to all of us individually, and if we read it aright, we learn to have a more extended view and to put a more charitable construction upon life. But if we are to maintain this spirit we ought not to cultivate a curiosity about the dead which is unbecoming with regard to the living, and in literature, as in actual life, we often gain a truer conception of the whole by observing a reticence with regard to certain parts than by scrutinizing the minutiae of each part, as if each fact of human life was of equal value with every other fact, no more and no less.

But, while venturing this criticism, we must in justice allow that Mr. Clement Shorter has now given us a wonderfully clear picture of the Brontë household and mode of life. The picture is for a great part one of unrelieved sadness, so sad that the death of Branwell Brontë was in the nature of a relief after the wreck of his character and his hopes. Emily, 'the sphinx of our modern literature,' followed him to the grave within a few months; and less than six months later Charlotte buried her last sister, the gentle Anne, at Scarborough, and turned again home to the desolate parsonage at Haworth. There is no sadder passage in literature than this: 'I felt that the house was all silent, the rooms were all empty. . . . So the sense of desolation and bitterness took possession of me. The agony that *was to be undergone*, and *was not to be avoided*, came on.'

The correspondence widens in interest with the advent of Mr. W. S. Williams into the story. A Charlotte's views upon men and books reveal a mind which has not been warped

by uncongenial and cold surroundings, nor embittered by tragedy and heavy sorrow, and we think that in gathering together these letters Mr. Clement Shorter has made a contribution to literary criticism and biographical study which claims our respect and gratitude.

We understand that the first edition of this work is already nearly exhausted, and that a second edition, with even larger appendices, is being put in hand. An opportunity will thus be afforded to Mr. Clement Shorter to correct the few errors which seem almost inevitable in a work of this nature. The facsimile of the inscription made by Thackeray in the copy of *Esmond* which he presented to Charlotte appears, by a curious oversight, twice in the same volume, introduced by the same words (taken direct from *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*), an error which ought to have been detected in the indexing of the book. Again, we are sometimes led astray by the fact that, whilst we are told at the beginning of each letter to whom it is addressed, we do not know by whom the letter is written until we turn to the close of the letter, and (e. g.) Martha Taylor's occasional letters to Ellen Nussey interspersed among Charlotte's numerous ones invariably take us by surprise, and we have to readjust our ideas as we only gather from the contents or by reference to the end of the letter by whom it is written. These are, however, only minor points of criticism in a book that is, on the whole, well edited, well indexed, well printed, and well presented to the public.

STEPHEN R. DODDS.

MR. CHESTERTON ON ORTHODOXY

It is Mr. Chesterton's misfortune that the ordinary reader finds it difficult to take him seriously. Most of us can but rarely invent an epigram in which to express our philosophy, and the world imagines we have no wit. Mr. Chesterton has such an amazing fertility of witty epigram that the world imagines he has no philosophy. 'Mere light sophistry is the one thing that I happen to despise most of all things, and it is perhaps a wholesome fact that this is the thing of which I am generally accused. I know nothing so contemptible as a new

paradox. I never in my life said anything because I thought it funny, though, of course, I have had ordinary human vain-glory, and may have thought it funny because I said it.' So Mr. Chesterton writes in the introduction to his latest work,¹ and people imagine it to be another of his jokes, and laugh aloud. But he is quite serious. He deprecates beforehand the conclusion that his book is a piece of poor clowning or a tiresome joke, and he dedicates it to his mother.

As a matter of fact, the book is a skilful defence of the faith which underlies the Christian religion. We may as well confess at once that it is overdone with illustration. The windows of the house are so extensive and so brilliant that it is difficult to find the walls. That is no doubt a fault, but it is a fault which leans to virtue's side. There are so many well-meant books on orthodoxy which fail precisely for want of illustration by concrete example, that we may very well condone one which fails, if it fails at all, because its wealth of concrete example obscures its underlying philosophy.

Mr. Chesterton's book is a sort of autobiography. Whether it is actually a veracious biography of Mr. Chesterton himself does not matter in the least. What matters is that the personal element in the story is typical of the man who thinks out a religion for himself and finds it to be Christianity; or, as Mr. Chesterton whimsically puts it, the man who thinks he has discovered a new island in the South Seas and finds it to be England.

We have first an attack on current rationalism. Mr. Chesterton finds that there is too much unmitigated reason abroad in the world. It is not imagination which is dangerous to a man's mental balance. Poets do not go mad, but chess-players do. Cowper was driven mad by the ugly logic of predestination. He was damned by John Calvin; he was almost saved by John Gilpin. The poet only asks to get his head into the heavens. It is the logician who tries to get the heavens into his head, and it is his head that splits. The madman's explanation of a thing is often, in a purely rational sense, satisfactory. His mind moves in a perfect but too narrow circle. His explanation explains a great deal; but what a great deal it leaves out! In the same way the rationalist takes one thin explanation and attempts to carry it too far. The materialist explains very much, but how very much he leaves out! He

¹ *Orthodoxy*. By Gilbert K. Chesterton. London: John Lane.

seems unconscious of the real things of the earth, of fighting peoples, or proud mothers, or first love, or fear upon the sea. The world is so very large, and the cosmos of the materialist is so very small. Materialism excludes, moreover, the freedom of the will, ignores sin, and makes it impossible to say, 'If you please,' to a housemaid. The man who cannot believe his senses, and the man who cannot believe anything else, are both insane.

Further, Mr. Chesterton argues that authority in religion has its historical origin in the defence of reason and freedom. The peril was that the intellect is free to destroy itself by teaching that there is no validity in human thought. Hence the need of authoritative dogma to restrain its freedom. If the mind is mechanical, thought cannot be very exciting, and if the objective of thought is unreal, there is nothing to think about. If the great world is to do nothing but spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change, then change itself is about the narrowest and hardest groove that a man can contemplate. Free thought has set itself free from authority only to bring about its own dissolution. When men ask themselves if they have any selves, free thought has not merely begun, it has run its course and ended by exhausting its own freedom.

There is something of sportive exaggeration in the statement of the conceptions upon which Mr. Chesterton says his infancy was nourished. No laws of sequence in cause and effect confined him then nor have confined him since. In mental relations there really are laws, for you cannot imagine two and one not making three; but in the science of physical facts there are only weird repetitions. 'Cut the stalk and the apple will fall,' is no more a necessary sequence than, 'Blow the horn and the ogre's castle will fall.' This world is all a wild and startling place, and might have been quite different. Mr. Chesterton will have none of the modern scientific fatalism which says that trees could never have been anything else but green, because he knows that they might have been scarlet, and he might have added that sometimes they are. 'It may be that God says every morning, "Do it again," to the sun.' That was one of his earliest convictions. 'And all this time I had not even thought of Christian theology,' he adds.

But it is not necessary to follow Mr. Chesterton through all his pleasant but devious excursions. He does not find it strange that Christianity has been attacked from opposite sides and

charged with mutually incompatible excesses, for he takes Christianity to be the normal position between extremes. He has his own way of illuminating the question of miracles; he has something eminently sane and wholesome to say about biological evolution; and he has one good thing to say about comparative religion. He recognizes that science is moving towards the supernatural with the rapidity of a railway train, and thinks it will even admit the Ascension if you call it Levitation. Mr. Chesterton's book is not to be recommended as a manual of orthodox theology or Christian evidences, but we may nevertheless regard it as a noteworthy fact that when orthodoxy is approached from so unusual a position as Mr. Chesterton's it should produce in him a belief as ardent as that of the rest of us.

HENRY T. HOOPER.

RECENT GAINS TO FAITH

WE are witnessing in these days a remarkable reaction from extreme conclusions of biblical criticism towards positions much nearer to the old views. Not that the reaction implies the acceptance of the old position altogether. This never takes place in the world of theological discussion. The old reappears with more or less extensive modifications. If the substance of the old is reasserted along with considerable changes of detail, it is all we can expect. The instances of this process at present are striking.

The Fourth Gospel is one of the battlefields of biblical criticism. The extent to which the nature of the Lord's personality is bound up with this Gospel is often, we think, exaggerated. To us the Synoptics seem to imply all that the Fourth Gospel asserts. The Christ of the Synoptics cannot be explained as merely human. The Fourth Gospel explains what the other Gospels alone would leave more or less in mystery. Hence its great value. We know how it used to be accepted as a critical truism that the Fourth Gospel was a product of the second century, a didactic romance in which the faith of the later Church was set forth in the form of narrative, and this view is still advocated in this country and elsewhere. Two

able works return to a point much nearer the old view. One is Dr. Drummond's *Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*; the other Dr. Wendt's *Inquiry into the Genesis and Historical Value of the Gospel*. The two were nearly simultaneous, the date of the former being 1903, of the latter 1902. The conclusions are the more emphatic from the quite independent standpoint both of the writers and their works. Dr. Drummond's is an exhaustive exhibition of the plan, general character, external and internal evidence of the Gospel in above 500 pages. The following words state the author's view of the outcome of the external evidence: 'On the whole I cannot but think that the external evidence of Johannine authorship possesses great weight, and, if it stood alone, would entitle the traditional view to our acceptance.' After discussing the internal evidence we read: 'When we unite the two bodies of evidence, and remember the cumulative characters of each, it seems to me that we have an amount of proof of the Johannine authorship which ought to command our assent, unless very strong evidence can be produced on the other side.' After considering the 'objections to the traditional view' the final verdict is: 'On weighing the arguments for and against to the best of my power, I must give my own judgement in favour of the Johannine authorship.' Dr. Drummond, indeed, does not accept the raising of Lazarus as historical. Even here he rejects 'the notion of imposture,' adding: 'I am unable to regard even a large admission of unhistorical elements as fatal to the traditional view.' We can only mention, without lingering on, this limitation. Dr. Wendt's conclusions are strikingly similar to these of Dr. Drummond, while the exhibition of the evidence is even more minute and elaborate. Dr. Wendt argues for a 'Source,' of the Fourth Gospel, a Johannine document, which the unknown evangelist combines with matter of his own. The 'Source,' both in its historical parts and discourses, closely resembles the Logia which underlie the First and Second Gospels. Dr. Drummond does not accept this dual structure of the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Wendt's verdict is more qualified than Dr. Drummond's; but still, it looks decidedly in the same direction. Remembering the traditions of the school from which this verdict comes, we may be thankful for its positive tendency. Dr. Wendt distinguishes between an 'apostolic tradition' in the Gospel, and 'a secondary, sub-apostolic interpretation and tradition.' Still he adds: 'The

Gospel possesses for us—in spite of its sub-apostolic origin and the incredibility of many of its component parts—an eminent historical value.' It would not be difficult to show that consistency and logic must soon erase the qualifications.

The Book of the Acts has been subjected to even more drastic treatment in the critical school. The ridicule with which its historical claims have been swept aside is a remnant of the old Tübingen theory, which made the book a compromise between two diametrically opposed parties in the primitive Church. Here again, while the reaction does not carry opinion back to the old position, it effectually disposes of the attitude of offhand condemnation. Sir William Ramsay's defence of Luke's historical trustworthiness is well supported by Prof. Harnack, who defends the Lukan authorship of the Gospel and the Acts and the historical character of the Acts. Here again there are no doubt qualifying limitations of the general judgment. Still, the position maintained is most significant.

Another change in the trend of controversy is well worthy of notice. Forty or fifty years ago objectors to the doctrine of objective atonement took the ground that the apostles, Paul included, did not teach the doctrine, and tried to put another interpretation on their teaching. The aim of works on the other side was to prove that the Epistles could bear no other than the objective sense. Now it is seldom, if ever, questioned that the apostles teach no other than the generally received doctrine. The objectors seek to get rid of the idea of expiation or propitiation in a different way, namely, by denying the binding character of apostolic doctrine, and deriving it from the Jewish theology in which the apostles had been trained, overlooking the fact that the Jewish theology in question is that of the Old Testament, not of rabbinical interpreters. We simply point out the significance of the change of ground. It is no longer denied that the expiatory sense is what the Epistles teach. A more accurate exposition of the Pauline doctrine in this respect it would be hard to find than Pfeiderer gives in his *Paulinism*, or Orello Cone in his *Paul, the Man, the Missionary and the Teacher*, although both writers do not accept the doctrine. The replies to the old line of opposition have done their work effectually. Former opponents admitted the authority of the apostles, but tried to show that they did not teach propitiation. Opponents now are obliged to deny the authority of the apostles in order to get rid of the idea. How the latter

can reply to Dr. Dale's argument it is impossible to see. Dr. Dale holds that, apart from all question of inspiration, the apostles must have known whether their doctrine agreed with Jesus Christ's doctrine on the subject or not. If their authority on the subject falls to the ground, so does Christ's. To suppose that they taught a totally different doctrine on so central a question is to destroy, not merely their authority, but their trustworthiness altogether.

J. S. BANKS.

STRAUSS—AND AFTER

In the appendix to Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, which is really a history of the criticism of the life of Christ, there is an extensive, but by no means exhaustive, list of more than sixty works which owe their origin to the *Life of Jesus*, by David Frederic Strauss. This work was published in Germany in 1835, and was translated into English by George Eliot in 1846.

Strauss was born in 1808, and the centenary of his birth has once more directed attention to his epoch-making work as a New Testament critic. Strauss first became known to fame as the author of the mythical theory of the origin of the Gospels. Although he denied the historical trustworthiness of the evangelists, he did not brand their narratives as forgeries, but strove to account for them as the pious products of the imagination of primitive Christian minds. The centenary year of Strauss has found the speculation, which he elaborated with literary grace as well as critical skill, discredited and discarded. The grounds on which this assertion is made may be briefly stated.

The insecurity of the basis upon which Strauss's *Life of Jesus* rested was pointed out by the author's former tutor, F. C. Baur, the founder of the Tübingen school of criticism. When Strauss was a theological student at the Blaubeuren seminary, Baur, one of its tutors, was engaged in the study of mythology. A few years later Strauss attended, at Tübingen, Baur's lectures on Gnosticism. But, as yet, the lecturer had not applied his Hegelian philosophy of history to the criticism of the New

Testament writings. Baur's objection to Strauss's book was that it was based on an inadequate examination of the primitive documents. This judgement has been endorsed by scholars of diverse theological schools.

Three years after the publication of his *Life of Jesus* Strauss said: 'The renewed study of the Fourth Gospel has led me to doubt my former doubt of its genuineness and trustworthiness. Not that I am convinced that it is genuine, but I am not convinced that it is not genuine. It may be that, on account of this change of opinion, my work has lost in unity, but I hope it has gained in truth.' In 1864 the *New Life of Jesus* appeared; in deference to criticism of the first edition it contained an examination of the sources. But Strauss was then so completely under the influence of Baur as not only to decide against the Fourth Gospel, but also to accept the priority of Matthew. To-day there is general agreement amongst scientific critics that Mark is the earliest Gospel, but Strauss went so far as to say that those who held this view were influenced by 'apologetic tendencies.'

In another direction critical inquiry has proved destructive of the theory of Strauss. It is no longer possible to assign to the Gospels a date sufficiently late to allow for the growth of myths and the accumulation of legendary mist. By general consent the Synoptic narratives are now placed, not in the second century (130-170 A.D.), but in the first century (65-80 A.D.). In this connexion it is also important to remember the significance of the witness to Christ borne by St. Paul in the Epistles which were written before the Gospels. Modern criticism, if it is scientific, has to recognize the fact that documents written within twenty-five years of the Crucifixion of Christ bear witness to the fact that the faith of the early Christians was faith in Jesus as the Lord of Glory. The precise 'argument' which Strauss insisted upon as essential to belief in the historical trustworthiness of the Gospels has been made available by scholarly researches into their origins. The challenge expressed in his own words has been satisfactorily met. 'It would most unquestionably be an argument of decisive weight in favour of the credibility of the biblical history, could it indeed be shown that it was written by eye-witnesses or even by persons nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated.'

Many who read the widely circulated *Life of Jesus* are un-

aware of the position Strauss took up in his later work, *The Old and the New Faith*, published in 1872. It casts a baleful light upon the tendency to depreciate Christology which is characteristic of an advanced school of thought to-day. In this book Jesus is called a fanatic whom we cannot accept as a leader, and faith as well in a personal God as in human immortality is abandoned. Dr. Ziegler, the most recent and quite sympathetic biographer of Strauss, says that he was 'dazzled by the light which had come through scientific discoveries,' and that as in his first *Life of Jesus* there was 'lacking a critical examination of the sources,' so in *The Old and the New Faith* there was 'lacking an investigation of the limits of human reason.' Instructive as are these criticisms, yet more noteworthy is the fact that in the closing chapter of his latest work Strauss discovers, when he comes to deal with morals, that his foundations do not support his building. Indeed, he himself writes to his friend Zeller: 'The foundation of morals I find decidedly the weakest part of my theory, and I should be very grateful to you for help in establishing my positions.' Strauss is not the only destructive critic who, having first lost faith in the historic Jesus as the Divine Son, afterwards lost faith in a personal God, and ultimately was at a loss to find a secure basis for moral obligation.

'After Strauss' the mythical theory has not been entirely dropped, but its adherents have been compelled to look to pagan sources and not to the imagination of the early Christians to account for the Jesus of the Gospels. In the *American Journal of Theology* for last October Prof. Carl Clemen subjects the assertion of the Buddhist origin of particular narratives in the Fourth Gospel to a detailed examination. His conclusion is: 'There is absolutely no trace of Buddhist influence in the Fourth Gospel, no more than in the Synoptics.'

Every attempt to account for Christianity as a natural evolution is foredoomed to failure. Von Schubert states the exact truth luminously when he says that it is 'unpsychological' to describe Jesus as 'the greatest of the prophets,' if by so doing it is intended to imply that 'original ideas can no longer be ascribed to Him.' What is essential is that we 'grasp what has been most emphatically taught us in recent years—the one great reality of the Person of Christ. He came not merely in the character of a prophet who proclaimed the will of God in a supremely powerful and impressive way, but also in the

character of the Lord who, having first appealed to men's consciences and touched their hearts, brought them to their knees when they desired to be His obedient followers; and finally in the character of One in whose image men caught a glimpse of the hidden face of God so that in knowing Him they knew God' (*Outlines of Church History*, p. 24 f.).

J. G. TASKER.

CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS IN MOHAMMEDAN LITERATURE

THE almost miraculous renaissance in Islam which is now proceeding in Turkey and other Mohammedan countries reminds one forcibly of Dante's lines:

For I have seen
The thorn frown rudely all the winter long,
And after bear the rose upon its top.

Paradiso, xiii. 133.

It is not perhaps fanciful to conjecture that one of the hidden causes of this renaissance is the large quantity of Christian truth which Islam literature holds, so to speak, in solution. It is a well-known fact that the Koran has borrowed largely from the Old Testament and the Apocryphal Gospels, but it is not so generally known that Mohammedan philosophers, theologians, and poets betray an acquaintance with facts and incidents of the Gospels of which the Koran contains no mention.

Leaving the Koran on one side, in the 'Traditions,' i. e. sayings of Mohammed handed down by tradition, we find God represented as saying at the Judgement, 'O ye sons of men, I was hungry and ye gave Me no food,' the whole of the passage in Matt. xxv. being quoted. This is remarkable, as it strikes directly at the orthodox Mohammedan conception of God as an impassible despot. Other sayings attributed to God which have a Christian ring are, 'I was a hidden Treasure and desired to be known, therefore I created the world'; 'If it were not for Thee, I would not have made the world' (addressed to Mohammed), evidently an echo of Col. i. 17, 'All things

have been created through Him and unto Him' (R.V.). The writer has often heard this last saying quoted by Indian Mohammedans in controversy.

Another traditional saying attributed to Mohammed is not unlike the doctrine of the Holy Spirit: 'Verily from your Lord come Breathings. Be ye prepared for them.' The Second Advent is also referred to in others: 'How will it be with you when God sends Jesus to judge you?' 'There is no Mahdi but Jesus.' It is a well-known fact that a certain gate in Jerusalem is kept walled up because the Mohammedans believe that Jesus will pass through it when He returns.

Some traditions have twisted Gospel parables, &c., in favour of Mohammedanism. Thus in the mention of the parable of the hired labourers, the first two sets of labourers are said to mean Jews and Christians, and the latest comers who receive an equal wage, though grumbled at by the others, are believed to indicate the Mohammedans. Other traditions give one of Christ's sayings a grotesquely literal dress. Thus our Lord is said to have met a fox, and to have said, 'Fox! where art thou going?' The fox replied, to his home. Upon which our Lord uttered the verse, 'Foxes have holes,' &c. Once when entering an Afghan village the writer was met by a Pathan who asked if the New Testament contained that verse. This shows how even garbled traditions may predispose the Mohammedan mind for the study of the Gospels.

Tabari, the historian (d. 923 A.D.), gives an account of the Last Supper and of Christ's washing the disciples' feet—topics entirely ignored by the Koran—and quotes the saying of our Lord regarding the smiting of the Shepherd and the scattering of the sheep.

Sufi literature, representing as it does the mystical side of Islam, abounds with allusions to Scripture. Al Ghazzali, the great opponent of Averroes (1058–1111 A.D.), in his *Ihya-ul-ulum* ('Vivification of the Religious Sciences') quotes the saying of Christ regarding the children playing in the market-place. In his *Kimiya-i-Saadat* ('Alchemy of Happiness') he writes, 'It is said that Jesus Christ in a vision saw this world in the form of an old woman, and asked how many husbands she had lived with. She said they were innumerable. He asked her if they had died, or had divorced her. She replied that it was neither, the fact being that she had killed all.' Here we seem to have a confused echo of the episode of the woman of

Samaria. Again in the same work he says, 'It is a saying' of Jesus Christ that the seeker of the world is like a man suffering from dropsy; the more he drinks water the more he feels thirsty.' In the *Ihya-ul-ulum*, the verse 'Eye hath not seen,' &c., is quoted as if from the Koran, where it nowhere occurs. Ghazzali was an ardent student of the Neo-Platonists, and through him the phrases Aql-i-Kull (=Logos) and Nafs-i-Kull (=Pneuma) passed into Sufi writings (v. Whinfield, Preface to the *Masnavi*).

Saadi (b. 1184 A.D.), the famous author of the *Gulistan* and *Bostan*, was for some time kept in captivity by the Crusaders. This may account for echoes of the Gospels which we find in his writings. In the *Gulistan* he quotes the verse, 'We are members of one another,' and in the *Bostan* the parable of the Pharisee and Publican is told in great detail.

Nizami (b. 1140) gives a story which, though grotesque, seems to show that he had apprehended something of the Christian spirit. Some passers-by were commenting on the body of a dead dog, saying how abominably it smelt, &c. Christ passed, and said, 'Behold how white its teeth are!'

But of all Mohammedan writers none bears such distinct traces of Christian influence as Jalaluddin Rumi, the greatest of the Sufi poets, who is to this day much studied in Persia, Turkey, and India. In the first book of his *Masnavi* he has a strange story of a vizier who persuaded his king, a Jewish persecutor of the Christians, to mutilate him. He then went to the Christians and said, 'See what I have suffered for your religion.' After gaining their confidence, and being chosen their guide, he wrote epistles in different directions to the chief Christians, contradicting each other, maintaining in one that man is saved by grace, and in another that salvation rests upon works, &c. Thus he brought their religion into inextricable confusion. This is evidently aimed at St. Paul, and it is a curious fact that Jalaluddin Rumi spent most of his life at Iconium, where some traditions of the apostle's teaching must have lingered. Other allusions to the Gospel narrative in the *Masnavi* are found in the mention of John the Baptist leaping in his mother's womb, of Christ walking on the water, &c., none of which occur in the Koran. Isolated verses of Jalaluddin's clearly show a Christian origin:

I am the sweet-smiling Jesus,
And the world is alive by Me.

I am the sunlight falling from above,
Yet never severed from the Sun I love.

It will be seen that Jalaluddin gives our Lord a much higher rank than is accorded to Him in the Koran, which says, 'And who could hinder God if He chose to destroy Mary and her son together?'

A strange echo of the Gospel narrative is found in the story of the celebrated Sufi, Mansur-al-Hallaj, who was put to death at Bagdad, 919 A.D., for exclaiming while in a state of mystic ecstasy, 'I am the Truth.' Shortly before he died, he cried out, 'My Friend (God) is not guilty of injuring me: He gives me to drink what as Master of the feast He drinks Himself' (Whinfield, Preface to the *Masnavi*). Notwithstanding the apparent blasphemy of Mansur's exclamation, he has always been the object of eulogy by Mohammedan poets. Even the orthodox Afghan poet, Abdurrahman, says of him:

Every man who is crucified like Mansur,
After death his cross becomes a fruit-bearing tree.

Many of the favourite Sufi phrases, 'The Perfect Man,' 'The new creation,' 'The return to God,' have a Christian sound, and the modern Babi movement which has so profoundly influenced Persian life and thought owes its very name to the saying of Christ, 'I am the Door' ('Ana ul Bâb'), adopted by Mirza Ali, the founder of the sect.

When Henry Martyn reached Shiraz in 1811, he found his most attentive listeners among the Sufis. 'These Sufis,' he writes in his diary, 'are quite the Methodists of the East. They delight in everything Christian except in being exclusive. They consider that all will finally return to God, from whom they emanated.'

It is certainly noteworthy that some of the highly educated Indian converts from Islam to Christianity have been men who have passed through a stage of Sufeeism, e. g. Moulvie Ima-duddin of Amritsar, on whom Archbishop Benson conferred a D.D. degree, and Safdar Ali, late Inspector of Schools at Jabalpur. In one of the semi-domes of the Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople is a gigantic figure of Christ in mosaic, which the Mohammedans have not destroyed, but overlaid with gilding, yet so that the outlines of the figure are still visible. Is it not a parable?

CLAUD FIELD.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and other scholars. Vol. I. A—Art. (T. & T. Clark. In cloth, 28s. net; or in 12 monthly parts, 2s. 6d. each net.)

THE Preface to this great work, which will consist of about ten volumes, states that it will 'embrace the whole range of Theology and Philosophy, together with the relevant portions of Anthropology, Mythology, Folklore, Biology, Psychology, Economics, and Sociology.' The first volume is the fruit of 'six years' exacting labour,' and the names of nearly two hundred scholars are included in the list of the authors of articles contained in it. The skill of the accomplished editor and his knowledge of students' needs are manifested in many details of arrangement. Cross-references are abundant; a lengthy list of topics which will be treated under other titles is also given. Some indication of the extent of the field covered and of the diligence with which its corners have been searched is found in the fact that in this list occur no less than twenty-two names of 'Christian Sects' beginning with A. The article 'Sects' will be sub-divided; the Mohammedan division will include *Ahmadiya*, *Almohads*, &c.; the Christian division will describe the tenets of the *Abelites*, the *Aitkenites*, the *Arnoldists*, &c.

The plan of the *Encyclopaedia* often involves the selection of a specialist to write on each of the various aspects of the same subject. He must possess fullness of knowledge, and have the gift of lucid exposition. Dr. Hastings has been conspicuously successful in finding the right men and in persuading them to be his collaborators. For example, *Architecture* is treated under twenty-four separate heads; *Chinese* by Prof. Chiuta Ino of Tokyo University; *Egyptian* by Dr. Flinders

Petrie; *Mithraic* by Prof. Franz Cumont; *Christian* by J. B. Stoughton Holborn, M.A., F.R.G.S., who at the outset is careful to point out that 'Christianity, as such, never has created, and never could create, a style of architecture.' He proceeds, therefore, to 'examine Christian buildings in various styles of architecture.' On *Alexandrian Theology* Dr. W. R. Inge writes with fine discrimination and sound judgement. At the cost of the careful reading of ten attractively written pages it is possible to gain an accurate understanding of Jewish and Christian Platonism as developed in Alexandria. The three representative names around which the discussion ranges are, of course, Philo, Clement, and Origen. As regards the permanent value of the Alexandrian theology, Dr. Inge differs from Harnack and the Ritschlian school generally, who regard 'the "Hellenizing" of Christian doctrine as an alien graft upon the enthusiastic revivalism of primitive Christianity.' . . . 'Those who would oust metaphysics from theology can have but scanty sympathy with the Alexandrians. But if speculation on divine truth is permissible or even necessary, no Christian theologians deserve a higher place than Clement and Origen, who made a serious and not unsuccessful attempt to combine in their creed the immanence and transcendence of God, universal law and human freedom, the universal and the particular in revelation, a lofty standard of practical ethics and world-forgetting contemplation.'

Robust thought and firmness of grasp are amongst the outstanding features of Dr. Garvie's treatment of *Agnosticism*. Critical estimates are given of the teaching of Hume, Kant, Comte, Hamilton, Mansel, and Herbert Spencer, their points of agreement as well as of difference being brought out in masterly fashion. Ample reasons are assigned for what some who are less familiar with the trend of modern thought may regard as an optimistic conclusion: 'More recent philosophical developments encourage the expectation that Agnosticism will soon be a superseded mode of thought.' Let any one who doubts this judgement ponder these weighty sentences. 'The materialistic explanation for which Agnosticism seeks to find room is inadequate to account for life, mind, morality, religion. The idealistic explanation which it seeks to shut out not only does justice to the highest interests of life, but makes more intelligible the whole process of the universe as an evolution of spirit. . . . The trust in the reason of man, on which the

proof of God's existence rests, is as necessary to give validity to the conclusions of science.'

A brief reference to a few of the articles on non-theological subjects will show that the *Encyclopaedia* appeals to a very wide circle of readers. Men of action as well as men of thought will need it. Dr. J. Mackie Whyte, Lecturer on Clinical Medicine in St. Andrews University, says of *Alcohol* that it 'can neither build up nor repair the tissues, and any favourable action that it has in producing energy is probably much more than counterbalanced by its poisonous effect, either directly or by means of intermediate products, while the tissues are dealing with it.' As regards total abstinence, Dr. Whyte is of opinion that it should be 'enjoined on certain classes: those who are hereditarily predisposed, through inebriety in parents or in grandparents, or through want of nerve stability; those whose occupations are closely associated with a heavy drink mortality; those who have given way to drink; persons who have suffered from diseases of the brain or nerves, or injuries to the head; and all children and juveniles.' A study of the Rev. R. Bruce Taylor's article on *Anarchism* would remove some current misconceptions. 'The popular idea of Anarchy is that it is concerned only with bomb-throwing and Terrorism.' But it is necessary to distinguish 'Anarchy as a theory' which has a political basis and is 'extremely anxious to place itself on a scientific basis,' from 'Anarchism as a historical movement.' The extravagant propaganda of Netschajeff, the Terrorist, differs greatly from the teachings of Kropotkin, a man of 'gentle and noble and self-sacrificing life,' who thinks that the solidarity of the human race will prevent the dreaded evils of Anarchism. The picture he sketches is idyllic: 'The Romanoff and the serf will vie with each other in praying the other first to take his portion of the heap.' The inevitable conclusion is that 'on its theoretical and economic side Anarchism is a dream. It postulates an unreal world in which all men will live at peace, and work without thought of self.'

Wesleyan Methodism is worthily represented in this volume. To Dr. Workman are assigned three congenial themes, on which he writes with the authority and ease of an expert—*Abelard*, *Ambrose of Milan*, and *Anselm of Canterbury*. Dr. Tasker contributes two admirably full and skilfully condensed articles dealing respectively with the ethical and religious meanings of *Abandonment*, and with the significance of *Advo-*

cate in the New Testament and in Church history. Dr. Moss gives an able summary of the policy of *Alexander the Great*, and estimates the influence of the philosophical schools of his time. Dr. Geden writes on *Aiyamar*, the tutelary god of the fields in Southern India; he also gives an instructive account of the Hindu sacred treatises known as the *Aranyakas*. Prof. Platt's careful history of *Arminianism* not only brings out its differences from Calvinism, but also shows how Methodist doctrine has modified as well as assimilated some of its chief tenets.

In this short notice only a few grains have been presented of the gold of which this *Encyclopaedia* is the storehouse. The process of gaining even a partial familiarity with its contents has been a liberal education. The more thoroughly it is tested, the more highly will it be valued. The far-seeing publishers and the versatile editor have earned the deepest gratitude of every serious student of the manifold subjects included in its comprehensive domain.

Murray's Illustrated Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. W. C. Piercy, M.A., Dean and Chaplain of Whitelands College. With coloured maps and 365 illustrations. (Murray. 21s. net.)

This is a compact volume of nearly a thousand double-columned pages. The type is somewhat small, but very distinct, and the well-produced illustrations add materially to the value of the *Dictionary*. Mr. Piercy has had ninety-six helpers, among whom we note Dr. Orr and Dr. James Robertson, Colonel Conder, General Sir Charles Warren, Profs. Naville, Pinches, Gwatkin, Sanday, Sayce, Dean Wace, Chancellor Lias, Dr. Foakes-Jackson, Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., and the Bishop of Durham. There was a general consensus of opinion among bishops, scholars, teachers, archaeologists, linguists, and divines that the time had come to issue a Bible dictionary in one volume which would embody the results arrived at by modern scholarship, research, and discovery. The *Dictionary* is frankly conservative, yet 'none of the additions of value made to our knowledge by "criticism," which are within the scope of a volume of this size, have been neglected.' The aim has been primarily to make it a dictionary of Bible names and things, but articles on ideas and doctrines contained in the Bible are included. The writers were selected

with great care, and then allowed a free hand. This leads in some cases to varying opinions and conclusions upon matters of detail, but cross-references are supplied, so that the reader has material for forming his own conclusions. We have found the articles very clear and concise. Everything is here that a Bible student, clerical or lay, needs for his work, and though a single volume cannot give as much space to subjects as Dr. Hastings' incomparable *Dictionary of the Bible*, Mr. Murray's work is well worthy of a place on the shelves of every Bible student. The Rev. W. J. Sparrow-Simpson has written the article 'Jesus Christ,' which extends to nearly seven pages, and that on the 'Resurrection of Our Lord.' Pastor Möller has been entrusted with the 'Canon of the Old Testament,' and Mr. Lias with the 'Canon of the New Testament.' The article 'Versions,' by Dr. Oesterley, reaches twelve pages; that on the 'Authorized Version' gives an excellent account of the English versions that preceded it. Dr. Orr writes on 'Deuteronomy.' He thinks that most historical contradictions between Deuteronomy and the earlier books, on which the Higher Critics insist, are 'far-fetched and unreal, and the discrepancies of laws, though sometimes occasioning difficulty, usually admit of reasonable explanation.' Murray's *Illustrated Dictionary of the Bible* is the best book of its size that we know, and we strongly recommend all who can to get it and to keep it in constant use.

The Second Temple in Jerusalem. Its History and its Structure. By W. Shaw Caldecott. (John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Caldecott (a supernumerary minister of the Wesleyan Conference of South Africa) has continued his history of the Hebrew religion down to the time of Herod the Great, and is now, we understand, engaged upon a work which deals with Herod's Temple, and which will complete the series. His volume on 'The Tabernacle' was memorable for its solution of the long-vexed question of the length of the Old Testament cubit. His next, on 'Solomon's Temple,' incidentally confirmed the current tendency of archaeological research to modify the conclusions of Biblical criticism which is merely literary. These two volumes were issued by the Religious Tract Society. The present work, issued by Mr. Murray, is printed in more dignified type, but retains the R. T. S. device of placing the

larger maps free in a pocket of the cover. Mr. Caldecott's most valuable asset is his absolute independence in matters of historical criticism and his laborious reconstruction of the plans and details of the sacred buildings round which the history centres itself. The historical portion of the present work does not raise many questions just at present in dispute, but it is carefully done, and is expressed in the quaint, unadorned directness of style which distinguished his previous book. Incidentally it gives many luminous hints for the better understanding of certain passages in the Psalms and the Prophets. Mr. Caldecott does not hesitate to denounce Ezra, in good set terms, for his mismanagement in the matter of the mixed marriages, and he gives a lucid account of 'that most difficult of writers, Ezekiel, and of that most elusive of saints, the prophet Daniel.' But the chief value of his work, and that which makes it indispensable to the student of the Old Testament, is his careful reconstruction of the Temple building, and the detailed architectural plans which accompany it. We believe this work has never before been so thoroughly done, and the results of it are, in several particulars, quite new. By way of comparison he reproduces drawings of the building from sources as early as 1560, and as late as 1896, which show how crude the conventional conception of it has always been. His own drawings, he says, have been independently worked out and confirmed by a competent architect who had no prepossessions either way about Ezekiel's plans. His graphic description of an imaginary visit to the temple would, however, have been less likely to mislead if he had more definitely explained that the imaginary visitors were not admitted to the sacred enclosure, but only to the altar and the surrounding courts.

The Resurrection of Jesus. By James Orr, M.A., D.D.,
Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology in
the United Free Church College, Glasgow. (Hodder
& Stoughton. 6s.)

This is a book which has been wanted for some time. Though it consists substantially of articles that have already appeared in a monthly journal, their reappearance in a handy form as a unity of closely-knit parts is a distinct boon to the Churches and to all seekers after truth. And no one who is really anxious to know what to believe about the resurrection of Jesus Christ can afford to overlook a volume in which an

ample knowledge is shown of all recent literature on different sides, and the reader is carried on step by step, without partiality or logical lapse, to the only legitimate conclusion.

Dr. Orr divides his book into ten chapters. The first describes the present state of the question, and the last shows the doctrinal bearings of the Resurrection. Between them are discussed such matters as the scriptural and historical evidence, with the value of the proposed critical solvents of the former, and the various theories, especially Lake's modern revival of Keim's theory of an apparition or psychical manifestation from the unseen. The evidence is found to be irrefragable except on the part of such critics as, whilst scouting a theory of mechanical inspiration, work as though it were generally postulated. As to the comparative rationality of the traditional belief and the views that have been put forward to supersede it, no room for doubt is left to a mind that does not prejudge the question of the supernatural. That question Dr. Orr examines with the thoroughness and virility that characterize every part of his book. He has no difficulty in showing that the denial of miracle is a logical necessity in any scheme of the universe which has not a personal God at its centre. To the older theism which viewed God as a living Power outside His works, the explanation was easy, as Sanday and many others have seen, that the bringing into operation of unknown forces might account for much that Christ did. The latter theism, which regards God as immanent in the world, and full of resource and moral purpose, is not troubled with even that class of miracles in which the Resurrection may be placed, and which requires the direct action of a Creative Cause. To such theism the question of miracle in the case of such a person as the Christ is entirely a question of evidence, which begins with the apostolical tradition and includes the very existence of Christianity itself.

On all these points Dr. Orr writes with a degree of patience that is beyond praise, and with a clearness that makes his meaning obvious to the least informed. In argument he is a dialectician without passion, in personal conviction loyal at once to Christ and to reason. He enters into details with complete mastery of them, and hence never becomes merely technical. He states the views he is examining by means of exact citation, and is consistently fair and impersonal. And any one who has adopted the wise practice of studying a question

on both sides will value this book highly. It will help to settle some distracted minds and to restore to its real value in the estimation of men the Person of Him who died for our sins and rose again.

Christianity: its Nature and its Truth. By Arthur S. Peake, D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester. (Duckworth & Co., 2s. 6d. net.)

In this thoughtful and thought-kindling work Dr. Peake appears rather as a constructive theologian than as an historical critic. Sometimes, however, he assumes the latter and more familiar rôle, with the result that the thoroughness of his criticism enhances the value of his positive conclusions. This is especially true of the excellent chapters entitled respectively 'The Gospel Portrait of Jesus,' 'The Supernatural Birth of Jesus,' and 'The Resurrection of Jesus.' Frankly admitting at the outset that 'a very impressive case can be built up against the historical character of the birth stories,' Prof. Peake rightly contends that 'we cannot discuss the question in a vacuum.' It is 'the central Figure of all history' of whom we speak, and when we approach the narrative along these lines, 'we may feel that in a person so supernatural the virgin-birth was natural.' On some points the reasoning seems to us inconclusive. In making room for the evolutionary theory of the origin of mankind there is no need to regard sin as 'an inevitable stage in the moral development of mankind.' With the dawning of moral distinctions man did indeed start 'on his upward career' intellectually, and had there been no 'deliberate thwarting of the higher law by self-will,' he might have entered upon his upward career morally and spiritually. From the fine exposition of the Pauline doctrine of 'mystical union with Christ' much may be learnt, though a straining of the apostle's meaning seems to be involved, when it is said that 'ideally sanctification precedes justification.' But for almost everything in this clear and cogent restatement of 'the vital facts and principles on which Christianity depends,' we are deeply grateful to Dr. Peake. Much that needed to be said is forcefully said. One example must suffice: 'When eminent religious teachers stake the truth of Christianity on the testimony of the religious consciousness . . . one may well stand aghast at the recklessness of such a position. The

Christian consciousness is a very complex thing; it is rooted in certain historical facts guaranteed to us by the New Testament history, and conditioned throughout very largely by New Testament teaching.'

The Gospel according to St. John. The Greek Text, with Introduction and Notes. By the late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. Two vols. (Murray. 24s. net.)

Bishop Westcott wrote his notes on St. John for the *Speaker's Commentary*, but he continued to work at them after they had been published there with a view to a Greek edition. The additional notes are fullest on Chaps. III, IV, VI-XII, and are considerable in Chaps. I, XVI, XX. The Introduction remains practically unaltered, save that the 'Quotations from the Old Testament in the Gospel' have been revised. The Greek text of Westcott and Hort is here printed with the Revised Version on the opposite page. Dr. Westcott's son has only altered the Revised Version text or marginal text in those cases where it seemed that the rendering would not have satisfied his father. The Introduction is now, of course, somewhat behind the times, but we find ourselves in hearty accord with its conclusions as to the apostolic authorship of the Gospel, and it is wonderfully suggestive and helpful in its treatment of the object and plan of the book. The notes are illuminating. Dr. Westcott's own mind and spirit were attuned to those of the beloved disciple, and he is an ideal interpreter of the sublime discourse in which our Lord prepares the Eleven for His cross. Though Bishop Westcott remodelled many of his notes, this work has not the claim upon students of the Greek text that it would have had if he had lived to complete it; yet every reader of the Gospel will be grateful to avail himself of the profound insight and rich scholarship of these volumes.

The Incarnate Purpose: Essays on the Spiritual Unity of Life. By G. H. Percival. (Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is an ingenious, if, in places, a rather fanciful, attempt to harmonize the teachings of science with respect to the unity of nature with the teachings of Christ. God is regarded as

'the supreme Spirit of Life, manifested through love, and attested by the Spirit of Truth, which finds representation in His words and deeds and in His rite of communion.' The thought is not at all times clear, and the style is too abstract for easy reading, but here and there are ideas and suggestions which repay consideration. The whole subject is regarded from a religious but extra-ecclesiastical and evolutionary point of view. To plead, as the author eloquently does, for freedom in the discussion of religious truth, is at present a little ludicrous; it is, at all events, like an attempt to force an open door.

National Idealism and the Book of Common Prayer. By Stanton Coit, Ph.D. (Williams & Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Stanton Coit's theory is that there is no God but social righteousness, and no religion but 'the focusing of men's attention upon some being from whom they have received the greatest benefits, in order to derive still further benefits.' He here treats the Book of Common Prayer in the light of these beliefs, with a 're-interpretation and revision' of his own. He recasts the Decalogue, reconstitutes the Lord's Prayer—'Our Father' being suitable as an appellation for 'a deity identical with human goodness'—and parodies the Litany by changing 'We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord' into 'We earnestly desire,' not that God would 'strengthen such as do stand,' &c., but that 'we' may do so, and that 'we may have mercy upon all men.' He adds similar travesties of what, to Christians, are very sacred words, to make them fit his method of resolving religion into ethics. The climax is perhaps reached in the sketch of a reformed Burial Service, with which the volume closes. Dr. Coit has no faith in personal immortality, but declares in his liturgy that 'the dead are not dead if we have loved them truly . . . in our own lives we gave them immortality.' He complains bitterly of the utter unsuitability of 1 Cor. xv. as a lesson on such an occasion, denouncing its 'false prophecy, false science, and forced logic,' and suggesting an alternative made up of extracts from Jeremy Taylor, the Bible, and Shakespeare. This is accompanied by a psalm of his own composition, to be used instead of Ps. xc., followed by a passage from Walt Whitman. Those who share Dr. Coit's views may possibly admire his liturgy.

A Handbook of Christian Ethics. By J. Clark Murray, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, M'Gill University, Montreal. (T. & T. Clark. 6s. net.)

Dr. Murray is no stranger to students of Ethics, who know him well from the useful Introduction he published seventeen years ago. Good as that book was, this is undoubtedly better. It has the same qualities of acute thinking and adequate expression; but the writer moves more easily, and has less difficulty in sustaining the attention of his reader. His aim is to set forth the science of moral life in the light of the Christian ideal.—In four sections, each furnished with a careful analysis of contents, he discusses that ideal, exhibits it in its psychological aspect and in its application to the varied relations of life, and explains the method of training by which the attainment of the ethical end may be ensured and hastened. The treatment is not too abstract, though rather unequal; and the book is that of an able thinker, who knows where the perplexities lie, and offers several good suggestions towards their solution.

Amongst the excellences of the book, in addition to its plan and central conception, must be placed the success with which the preparation for Christian teaching is traced in the Latin and Greek moralists. Eastern preparations outside the Jewish circle receive scant notice. Egoism and altruism are identified on the assumption that every man's highest good can be reached only in the pursuit of that of other men. This makes solidarity the conclusion of a long chain of reasoning, and neither explains its origin and basis, nor provides a legitimate place in the scheme for the so-called particular virtues. The classification of the virtues is always difficult, but in a case of this kind should be the result of a process of analysis applied to the ideal. To follow Christ in the one particular and Aristotle in the other gives of necessity a certain appearance of disjointedness, which is not removed by a rather forced identification of wisdom with the love of God. Again, it is Pauline teaching that the truth should be spoken in love; but not everybody will agree with the assumed corollary that the obligation of veracity is qualified by a more imperative obligation. In regard to moral exercises Dr. Murray insists rightly on the certain truth that personal discipline to be effective must be both voluntary and private; he recommends also a

training of the intelligence in the problems of casuistry, which is probably not on the whole a suitable gymnastic for the young. Christianity has a treasury of moral resources, which if not peculiar to it as a religion, are found nowhere else in equal variety and fullness; and a larger reference to these would not have been inappropriate.

One feature of the book is the frequency with which admirable little notes occupy the bottom of the page. They appeal to many tastes, and should never be overlooked. In addition to the analytical table of contents, so drawn up as to be a real key to the author's thoughts and sequence of thought, two full indexes, one of Scripture passages, are supplied.

The Century Bible. Exodus. By W. H. Bennett, D.D., Lit.D. *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs.* By G. Currie Martin, M.A. (2s. 6d. each.) *The Religion of Israel.* By Prof. A. S. Peake, D.D. (6d. net.) (T. C. & E. C. Jack.)

These three further instalments of the Century Bible and Handbooks are excellent additions to the series. When completed, the Old Testament series will be a worthy companion of the New Testament series. It would be difficult, the critical basis of the whole work being borne in mind, to name a commentary better adapted to the needs of teachers and members of Bible classes. The entire series will be a valuable aid in the improvement in Sunday-school teaching now going on. The authors of these two works would earnestly maintain that whatever change the new views make in the composition and structure of the Old Testament books, they make no change in their religious value and greatness. The Introduction to Exodus, which is full and carefully done, leaves many questions of date and structure uncertain, but its value to revealed religion is strongly emphasized. The Code of Hammurabi incidentally bears ample testimony to the trustworthiness of the chief part of Exodus.

It is no slight feat to give a clear and complete account of three difficult Scripture books in one small volume; yet this is what Mr. Martin does. With excellent tact he confines himself chiefly to literary illustration and comparison, working this mine with remarkable effect. The writers in this series are remarkably faithful to the purpose in view, and the present

volume is equal to the best in this respect. The analogies from the literature of other nations are wonderfully apt and full. What the author says of Plumptre's commentary in the *Cambridge Bible* may be said of his own: 'In the wealth of its literary illustration and the charm of its style no book surpasses it.'

Dr. Peake's handbook describes, not the theology, but the religion of Israel in its different stages. Here, again, while great changes in form are advocated, the substance remains the same. It is needless to say that the work is beautifully written. The different stages in the growth of the Israelite religion are luminously set forth. In expounding the divine name, 'Yahweh,' the writer warns us against abstract explanations. 'The Hebrew religion did not concern itself with metaphysics, and such an idea as the self-existent one would have been foreign to its mode of thought. It is more probable that we should lay the emphasis on moral than on metaphysical character.'

Salvation and the Old Theology: Pivot Points in Romans.

By the Rev. Len. G. Broughton, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a book difficult to characterize. It consists of 'a series of talks' on the Epistle which has given rise to the greatest systems of theology the world has known, the Epistle that has puzzled the genius of Augustine and Calvin and Edwards. Yet we have little but praise for Dr. Broughton's 'talk.' It would be easy to criticize unformed sentences, crudities of thought and illustration; but we have not the heart to do so. In the main the emphasis on vital Christianity is so just, the illustration so vivid, the appeal so irresistible, that our last feeling is one of thankfulness. The talks avoid the common mistake in our days of minimizing sin, and so making redemption next to needless. The anecdotes are all to the point. Paradoxical as it may seem, the details are often open to question, yet the whole is excellent. Dr. Broughton construes sanctification as simply separation for service, laying the chief stress on regeneration. The practical part of the Epistle is dismissed in about twenty pages. Still, Dr. Broughton's gospel is Paul's gospel in homely, striking guise.

The Fact of Conversion. By George Jackson, B.A.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d.)

The similarity of the present work to the one just noticed in substance is as remarkable as the contrast in all that belongs to style; the diction and treatment in the present work being as finished and graceful as we always expect from the writer. The titles of the chapters—The Reality of Conversion as a Fact of Consciousness and as attested in its Fruits, Varieties of Conversion, its Rationale and Psychology—indicate the purpose and the importance of the subject. The deeper question involved is the truth and reality of the spiritual life. This thesis is defended with abundance of cogent argument and literary illustration. Not the least helpful part is the treatment of the bearing of psychology on views of conversion. One fact which emerges is that the majority of conversions occur in comparatively early life. 'In other words, the critical period in religious development is seen to coincide in a very remarkable degree with the storm and stress of adolescence.' The frequent references to Profs. James, Coe, and Starbuck guide to further reading. Mr. Jackson adds useful cautions. We may characterize the whole book as a blending of Moody and Drummond. It is new evangelism, but it is evangelism. The quotations are apt, never diverting from the main course. Old William Perkins wrote beside his name in his books, 'Thou art a minister of the Word; mind thy business.' Dr. Tholuck once wrote to Dr. Pusey, 'Our preachers, having got rid of the Christian doctrine, are now insisting with much earnestness on the importance of taking regular exercise.'

The Rev. Dinsdale T. Young's last volume bears a striking title—*The Travels of the Heart* (Culley, 3s. 6d.). It is borrowed from the first sermon, but it really covers the whole ground along which these 'spirit travels' move. The sermons represent a year's ministry in Wesley's Chapel. The perfect naturalness of the language strikes one at the first sentence, and the music grows upon us as we turn the pages. The divisions are simple but suggestive. They leave room for many a happy appeal to heart and conscience. There is no artifice about these sermons; they are mighty in sincerity, in love, and in apostolic zeal.

Problems of Discipleship, by H. Bisseker, M.A. (Culley, 1s. 6d. net), is a little guide to holy living framed to meet the need of numberless men and women, both within the Church and outside it, who earnestly seek guidance in matters of the highest interest, yet have neither opportunity nor inclination for protracted study. The problems dealt with are those of Temptation, The Besetting Sin, Suffering, Unreality in Prayer, The Value of Sermons, reading the Bible, &c. Mr. Bisseker has put his best thought and ripest experience into these helpful little studies. They are beautifully expressed, full of strong sense and godly wisdom. No one will be disappointed who turns here for guidance in the daily problems which meet the earnest disciple.

The Rev. J. T. Waddy, B.A., has written a brief exposition of *The Lord's Prayer* (Culley, 1s. 6d. net), which lights up the difficult passages and supplies many fruitful suggestions as to the spirit and plan of the prayer. The clearness of the exposition and its devotional tone will make it very acceptable to young preachers and teachers. The spirit and style of the book are excellent.

A Shorter Manual of Theology. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Beet is well known as one of the clearest theological writers of the day. There is no mysticism about him. One cannot mistake his meaning. This *Shorter Manual*, like its larger predecessor, is a model of lucidity. It proceeds on original lines, and, unlike some theological manuals, is eminently readable and most interesting. It claims to be 'a compact restatement of the gospel of Christ in the light of modern scholarship and science,' and that claim is justified. Controversies are avoided; a wise course in a book designed especially for young students. Its arguments are well built up, and buttressed by ample Scripture references; and it will impel, as well as guide, to a systematic study of the New Testament. The chapter on Sons of God is a specially able exposition; and we find ourselves in complete agreement with the author's views on Last Things, as here stated. This should prove a serviceable manual to teachers and students. The questions on each chapter, found at the end of the book, enhance its value for class purposes or for self-testing.

St. Paul's Epistles to Colossae and Laodicea. With Introduction and Notes by John Rutherford, B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 6s. net.)

In this scholarly and thoughtful work the Epistle to the Colossians is viewed in relation to the Epistle to the Ephesians. Mr. Rutherford carefully traces 'the unity of thought and feeling and even of verbal expression' which pervades them. He also adduces strong reasons in favour of the view that the 'Epistle to the Ephesians' was sent in the first instance to Laodicea. Material is furnished for a thorough comparative study of these two 'sister epistles.' There are also helpful discussions of such subjects as 'The Pleroma,' 'The Sabbath in the New Testament,' and 'Relation to the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse.'

A Critical Examination of the Evidences for the Doctrine of the Virgin Birth. By Thomas James Thorburn, M.A., LL.D. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.) A careful and fair-minded statement of the documentary evidence—canonical and extra-canonical—in support of the doctrine. Useful Appendices deal with 'The Birth-Story in the Apocryphal Gospels,' 'Isaiah's Birth Prophecy,' 'Mythological Theories,' and other subjects.

The Book of Esther (International Critical Commentary). By L. B. Paton, D.D., Hartford. (T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d.)

The inclusion of the Book of Esther, in which the name of God is not found, in the canon, still remains difficult of explanation. Dr. Paton would exclude it altogether. The explanation suggested of the omission of the divine name does not sound very probable. According to this explanation the book was to be read at the feast of Purim, at which excessive drinking went on. In order to prevent the divine name being profaned it was omitted. The feast of Purim is traced to Babylonian sources. The author's verdict on the book is roundly stated. After summarizing the evidence, he concludes, 'The book is so conspicuously lacking in religion that it should never have been included in the canon of the Old Testament, but should have been left with Judith and Tobit among the apocryphal writings.' The book is even said not to be historical, but to belong to the class of Jewish romances. Yet it has been the

text of an immense literature. 'It has two Targums and at least eight Midrashes,' and on these, again, commentaries have been written in great numbers. From these sources Dr. Paton draws a large amount of material to supplement the text of the book. The Introduction alone, tracing the history of the text and interpretation, fills above a hundred pages. The amount of labour on the author's part must have been immense.

Christian Festivals and Anniversaries. By J. G. Greenhough, M.A. (James Robinson. 3s. 6d.) It is refreshing to find a Baptist minister of Mr. Greenhough's position and reputation preaching such sermons as these. John Wesley would have loved his discourse on All Saints' Day. The sermons are admirably rich and suggestive, and they include not only all the great Christian Festivals, but New Year's Day, the close of the year, Citizen Sunday, and two sermons for a Sunday-school anniversary.

Sunday Mornings at Norwood. Being Twenty-two Sermons and Twenty-two Prayers. By S. A. Tipple. (H. R. Allenson. 3s. 6d. net.) Mr. Tipple's sermons were first published in 1882, and were at once recognized as masterpieces. An enlarged volume was issued in 1895. This third edition is sure of an eager welcome, and many will be thankful that Mr. Tipple has gratified his friends by yielding to their strong and repeated entreaties that he would allow the reissue. The prayers are often beautifully phrased and richly varied. They are sometimes slightly instructive, but they are always full of yearning after God. The sermons are beautifully clear and deeply spiritual; they lead to heart-searching and longing after heavenly things. To read and meditate over this volume is a real means of grace.

Permanent Elements in Christian Theology, by the Rev. R. J. Wardell (R. Culley, 3s. 6d.). The twenty-six sermons or addresses which form this volume give 'the substance of a Methodist preacher's message to his congregation during one winter of his ministry.' The arrangement in sections represents a real unity of subject—Christ's Kingdom, Message, Gifts, Disciples, Purposes, with an additional section on the Cross and the Judgement. Jesus Christ is thus the centre of the series. The sermons are thoughtful, and evince wide literary reading. Browning is worthily prominent in the numerous quotations.

The Gospels Chronologically arranged, by the Rev. W. Brinscombe, F.R.A.S. (Bagster & Sons, 2s. 6d. net). Mr. Brinscombe places St. Luke first in this harmony, both because he promises to give special attention to the order or time and because he furnishes so many particulars of the Nativity of our Lord. The arrangement of the Gospels in four parallel columns is convenient, and the size of the book is handy. Some extended notes are given as an Appendix. That on 'The Place that Christ went to prepare' is specially interesting. Mr. Brinscombe thinks that before Christ's Atonement 'all departed saints on leaving the body descended to the Brighter Hades.' After His death our Lord raised them to Heaven, where all believers under the Gospel Dispensation pass after death.

Have Miracles Happened? by the Rev. H. T. Dixon (Elliot Stock, 2s. 6d. net). In striving to controvert the naturalistic tendency of much modern criticism Mr. Dixon has done well. But his book deals almost entirely with the Old Testament miracles, and we cannot agree that to reject his view of the narrative in Joshua x. 12-15 would lead 'naturally and inevitably to the rejection of Christianity itself.'

The Tithe in Scripture, by Henry Lansdell, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.). A republication of some chapters from a larger work, entitled *The Sacred Tenth*. A revised bibliography shows how extensive is the literature on this important subject. Systematic and proportionate giving would solve many problems, and Dr. Lansdell adduces abundant proof that the Christian principle should be 'not less than a tenth for God.'

Does it Matter what a Man Believes? and other Themes for Thought, by Frank Ballard, D.D. (Culley, 2s. 6d. net). This is the first volume of *The Methodist Pulpit Library*, and it is a very neatly got-up, well-printed, cheap, and timely series. Good sermons appeal to a large and appreciative circle, and it is worth much to sit at the feet of such a teacher as Dr. Ballard. He knows every side of his subject, he discerns what is in the minds of his hearers, he is awake to all the needs of the age, he sets himself to help towards the production of 'that Christian character which, when true to its great Exemplar,' he holds 'to be the highest ideal possible to human nature.' The first sermon shows very powerfully that the believer's experience and his daily life are the final court of appeal as to whether he is right or wrong in his belief. The second, on 'The Bene-

diction of Difficulty,' will enable some to see a divine purpose in their trials and crosses. Each sermon has its definite message forcibly brought out and well applied. The Methodist pulpit has not lost its grip of heart and mind and conscience, judging from this volume. The second volume, by John H. Goodman, is well called *The Chambers of Imagery*. It is crowded with incident and apt quotation; the style attracts attention, the thought is rich, the themes are those devout congregations love. Each sermon has its own beauty, but no passage strikes us more than that on 'Immortality,' where the preacher appeals to the experience of dying saints as proof of his doctrine. Such a volume explains Mr. Goodman's popularity. Every page in it sparkles and glows.

Dr. Ballard's *Popular Determinism* (Culley, 6d. net) is the first section of a work on *The People's Religious Difficulties*, which will be completed in five parts. A selection is given from two thousand questions asked and answered at open conferences. They are extraordinary answers. No difficulty is shirked. Dr. Ballard is singularly honest, but he is also masterful, as the man will be who has fathomed a subject and served a long apprenticeship in the art of facing the hardest problems presented by human society and individual life. It is a little book, but it is packed with matter for which all preachers and teachers will be profoundly grateful. Honest doubters and seekers after truth will give it an equally warm welcome.

Abba, Father: A Comment on the Lord's Prayer, by Walter Lowrie, M.A. (Longmans & Co., 4s. 6d. net). Mr. Lowrie is Rector of St. Paul's American Church in Rome. His special aim in this devout and well-written book is to illustrate the Lord's Prayer by the experience of Jesus revealed in His teaching and in the history of His life. The opening chapter on the prayer in general leads to a study of each petition, and a closing chapter on the Amen. The arrangement is very clear, and the whole treatment suggestive and helpful.

The Poetry of the Gospel of Jesus, by Otto Frommel (David Nutt, 2s. 6d. net). Every book must be judged under the limitation which the author puts upon himself, and it is only fair to say that at the very outset the author does not pretend that the gospel of Jesus is only poetry. He knows and believes that it is infinitely more. But in this essay his purpose is to reveal the beauty of the gospel, the artistic perfectness of the

character of our Lord. And certainly only those who have studied the thousand subtleties of the Gospels can understand how delicate and rare that beauty is, and how exquisite is the character of its central Figure. The author has many things to say, and many illustrations to adduce, which cannot help but enrich men's conceptions of the aesthetic and moral beauty of Christ's great evangel, and of Him who is for ever its great Preacher; and to those to whom this is an unfamiliar light in which to view both the gospel and their Lord, it will have something of the nature of a revelation. The Essay, too, has a great beauty of its own.

Dr. Miller's *Devotional Hours with the Bible* (Hodder & Stoughton, 5s.) seeks to bring out the spiritual and practical lessons which may be gathered from its great stories. It does not deal with critical questions, but makes its appeal to all who wish to find strength for daily living. This volume covers the period from Genesis i. to Exodus xiv., and is always crisp and suggestive. Preachers and teachers will find it just what they need in their work, and homely Christians will love it.

Reason and Revelation, by J. R. Illingworth, has been added to Macmillan's *Sixpenny Series*. It brings out with masterly skill the strength of Christian Evidence as a harmonious and coherent whole. It is a boon to have such a reprint.

The nineteenth volume of *The Expository Times* (T. & T. Clark, 7s. 6d.) is a treasury from which preachers may draw some splendid material for their sermons. The range of subjects is wonderfully wide, and Dr. Hastings has a band of helpers drawn from all Churches. We like *The Expository Times* better every year, and find it more and more suggestive.

Lieut.-Colonel Turton's *Truth of Christianity* (Wells, Gardner & Co., 2s. 6d. net) has now reached a seventh revised and enlarged edition. It is doing great service to the cause of Christian evidence.

Meyer's *Lesson Handbook* for 1909 (Culley, 1s. net) is so complete and so compact that it is increasingly popular. No Sunday-school teacher ought to be without it.

One Hundred Illustrated Sermon Outlines and Texts, by James Dinwoodie (H. R. Allenson, 3s. 6d.). These outlines are very well arranged and have much good stuff in them.

Mr. Allenson's reprint of *Twelve Sermons*, by John Henry Newman (6d.), will appeal to many. The sermons are above praise.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

History of Classical Scholarship. Vols. II and III. By
T. E. Sandys, Litt.D. (Cambridge University Press.
8s. 6d. net each vol.)

DR. SANDYS completes with these volumes an undertaking which he commenced eight years ago, and of which he has already given to the world the firstfruits in a volume reviewed at the time of publication in the LONDON QUARTERLY. We congratulate the Cambridge Public Orator on the successful issue of his gigantic task, which consists in nothing less than a close and detailed survey of Classical Scholarship from the sixth century B.C. to the present day. It goes without saying that the volumes before us are worthy to be placed by the side of their predecessor, and the completed work is an achievement which reflects the highest credit on English scholarship. There is indeed nothing like it in our language: nor can either Europe or America show any study which covers the same ground within the limits of a single publication. It is encyclopaedic without being an encyclopaedia. A history of scholarship might easily become a rather dull catalogue of names and scholastic achievements: but Dr. Sandys, while providing adequate and accurate information as to names and works, presents us with a dexterously constructed history, its complex materials being woven together with admirable literary workmanship, and the whole coloured by many picturesque touches, allusions, incidents, and quotations. These volumes have all the virtues of a book of reference with none of its limitations, inasmuch as they contain a highly-finished and attractive historical narrative.

There can be only one opinion as to the utility of this work. It fills a distinct gap in classical studies. What student of classical texts, familiar though he may be with the names of earlier scholars and editors, has not been prevented from a closer acquaintance with their personality and work by the difficulty of securing information? One can recall a whole host of editors and critics whose names were names, and nothing

more, to students of the annotations and bibliographies of Greek and Latin editors. Dr. Sandys clothes these names with flesh and blood. His brief biographical sketches, taken together with the excellent woodcuts and illustrations which adorn his pages, impart the necessary touches of reality, and give to his readers glimpses into the personal life and characteristics of some of the great pioneers and leaders in the realm of classical letters.

The author takes up the history of classical scholarship at the period of the Revival of Learning—a period which he has treated with much charm in his Harvard Lectures, and now in another form, but with equal fascination, surveys in the first of the two concluding volumes of his history. Italy, *sancta mater studiorum*, is the land in which the earlier products of classical research appeared, the home of Petrarch and the Humanists who flourished in the brilliant period between Dante and the Sack of Rome in 1527; the main characteristic of this epoch was the discovery of the classics and the imitation of them. We then pass to the *French* period, which gives us the industrious learning of the *Polyhistor*s of France and the Netherlands, including the great names of Scaliger, Casaubon, Lipsius, and Salmasius. This brings us to the seventeenth century, after which comes the century of *English* and *Dutch* activity, beginning with Bentley, Hemsterhuys, and Ruhnken, and concluding with Porson—an age of historical, literary, and verbal criticism. Next, with the birth of Friedrich Augustus Wolf of *Prolegomena* fame, follows the *German* period, in which scholarship becomes encyclopaedic, representing the systematic treatment of historical, critical, grammatical, and archaeological research. Finally, with our own times, classical learning oversteps the limits of Europe and becomes cosmopolitan in character. Within these well-marked divisions, and gathering round the greater lights of learning, a vast multitude of lesser stars brighten the firmament of classical scholarship. One of the admirable features of Dr. Sandys's work is that, along with his insight into the general movements of learning, he never overlooks the obscurer details and less familiar names. A glance at his Bibliography sufficiently indicates the width of his researches, while his lists of *editiones principes* and of scholars arranged under heads of languages, subjects, and countries, are valuable helps to the student. By his amazing industry, and the wealth of information which these volumes

contain, Dr. Sandys has earned the gratitude of the world of scholars; while the work as a whole, judged as a literary feat and a monument of erudition, is worthy of the best traditions of Cambridge University.

Le Tribunal Révolutionnaire (1793-5). Par G. Lenotre.
(Paris: Perrin et Cie. 3fr. 50c.)

This is the fourth volume of M. Lenotre's *Mémoires et Souvenirs sur la Revolution et l'Empire*. He has attempted to reconstitute the judicial life of Paris in the worst days of the Revolution, and to paint the portraits of the beings who assumed the power of life and death during the Terror. M. Lenotre has had no contemporary description to guide him, but has gathered his material from unexplored sources, and made the past live again by the aid of a line in a report, an architect's account, or some tradesman's bill or workman's pay-sheet. By the aid of plans and documents he takes us through the Palais of Justice, known in those grim days as the Tribunal. Then we are introduced to Fouquier-Tinville, the public prosecutor, whom Carlyle called 'the most remarkable attorney that ever lived and hunted in the Upper Air.' M. Lenotre cites documents which enable us to follow each stage of this monster's course till he himself perished on the scaffold, to the unmixed delight of the mob of Paris. The trials of Charlotte Corday and of Marie Antoinette are the most tragic scenes in this grim tale of blood. We watch Robespierre free himself from all whose eloquence or opinions stood in the way of his personal ambitions, see Fouquier-Tinville become the most redoubtable of all the judges of France, and are admitted to the heart of the whole tragedy as no other history admits us. It is a notable addition to our knowledge of the Revolutionary tribunal and its horrible procedure.

A Survey of London. By John Stow. Reprinted from the text of 1603. With Introduction and Notes. By Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, M.A. Two vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 30s. net.)

Mr. Kingsford has given us a worthy edition of Stow's *Survey*. It has been long needed and will be greatly prized. The text has been prepared with the greatest care by Mr. C. E. Doble, who has also supplied an extended and instructive Glos-

sary. Full notes throw light on all difficulties, and there are three Indexes of persons, places, and subjects. The Introduction includes a most interesting life of Stow and many facts about his *Survey*. Stow was for nearly thirty years a working tailor, and must have prospered in business, for he spent money freely on the collection of books. From about 1560 his attention was concentrated 'in the pursuit of our most famous antiquities.' He belonged to an old London family, and 'remembered how his father's garden had been encroached on for the making of Thomas Cromwell's pleasure-grounds, and could recollect to have seen more than two hundred persons served well every day at Lord Cromwell's gate with bread, meat, and drink.' His fame rests on his *Survey*, which is based on personal investigation of documents and visits to all parts of the metropolis. 'It is at once the summary of sixty observant years, and a vivid picture of London as he saw it.' One of the most interesting passages is that about the bakers from Stratford at the Bow, who were allowed in old time 'to bring long cartes laden with bread, the same being two ounces in the pennie wheate loafe heavier than the penny wheate loafe baked in the Citie, the same to be sold in Cheape, three or four cartes standing there, between Gutherans lane, and Fausters lane ende, one carte on Cornehill, by the conduit, and one other in Grasse streete.' He tells us, on his father's authority, how certain men ringing a peal of bells at St. Michaels, Cornhill, saw 'an uglie shapen sight' come in at the south window. It left the marks of a 'Lyons clawe' in the stones. Stow adds, 'I have seen them oft, and have put a feather or small stick into the holes, where the clawes had entered three or foure inches deepe.' This edition, for the first time after three hundred years, makes Stow's masterpiece generally accessible in the form in which he wrote it. It will be a real treasure to all lovers of London.

The John Hopkins Press at Baltimore issues *A Study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste*, by Ralph van Deman Magoffin, A.B. It is the first of a series of studies in which the author hopes to throw light on the history of the towns of the early Latin League, and is based on close personal investigations. The proud position of Praeneste among the towns of Latium was due to the fact that its citadel was impregnable. It held the key to Rome from the south. The Christian faith had a stubborn fight here with the old Roman cult of

Fortuna Primigenia, but it triumphed completely, and Praeneste became the seat of one of the six suburban bishoprics. Mr. Magoffin has surveyed the whole district, and throws much light on the position, the walls, the public buildings, and on the municipal government. It is a piece of painstaking work for which all students of Roman history will be grateful.

The Church of England. By R. Ellis Roberts. (Francis Griffiths. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is not a complete history of the Church of England, but an attempt to awaken interest in the problems presented by successive stages of that history. It is divided into ten periods, the first of which is 597-1066, and the last 1833-1900. Mr. Roberts writes rather carelessly, and his book would have gained by a more thorough revision. He is a High Churchman who is anxious that the vision of unity among the Churches in England should not make Anglicans neglect their opportunity of assisting in a revived Catholicism. As to Methodism, Mr. Roberts thinks that 'had there been any one able to direct Wesley and his Methodists, or, better still, any one with the courage and common sense to make him a bishop, there is no reason why Methodism should not have remained to strengthen and sweeten the life of the Church.' Mr. Roberts has to allow that while 'Wesley's desire was to prevent schism, he often took action that was schismatical in tendency if not in nature.' In 1784 he himself 'committed schism' by his ordinations. The fact is Mr. Roberts can make little of Wesley, and he does not see that Methodism may have done more 'to strengthen and sweeten the life of the Church' by pursuing its own providential path.

The Confessions of Augustine. Edited by John Gibb, D.D., and William Montgomery, B.D. (Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

It is strange that the only annotated edition of *The Confessions* previously published in England was one with a few Latin notes which Dr. Pusey issued in 1838. 'The most famous volume in the whole library of the Fathers' is here supplied with notes which throw light on the times in which it was written, and the literature and philosophy by which Augustine's mind and character were formed. The Introduction shows that *The Confessions* were written at the request of

Augustine's friends, that they mourn and rejoice with him in the retrospect of his life, and give thanks to God on his behalf. He used them to silence the praise of others and to show them what he really was. *The Confessions* are not only a wonderful autobiography, but they help us to watch the theology of Western Christendom shaping itself in its chief creator's mind. Of all this Dr. Gibb and Mr. Montgomery have much to say which invests the old devotional classic with fresh interest. On the manuscripts and texts, also, there is some useful information, and the notes will be of great service, especially to students of *The Confessions* in the Latin text given in this volume.

The Life of Beethoven. By Alice M. Diehl. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

For twenty years the preparation of this biography has been to Miss Diehl a labour of love. She has studied the literature of the subject and has visited Germany to inspect the various relics and books in the Beethoven Museum. She has not dealt critically with the composer's work, and that is perhaps the weakest part of her volume, but she has given a fascinating sketch of the musician's life, and helped us to follow his whole course from his childish sorrows till the heavy clouds settled upon him in his last years. It is a touching story, and Miss Diehl tells it with skill and never-failing sympathy. The elder Beethoven was a selfish drunkard, who regarded his son as a musical prodigy who might be a means of providing money for his amusements. Beethoven spoke bitterly in after years of this epoch of his life. His devotion to his mother was unwavering, and her death of consumption was to him a lifelong sorrow. In 1791 he went to Vienna, where he became Haydn's pupil, and worked constantly, sometimes almost fiercely, at his musical studies. He gradually established his reputation as a composer and instrumentalist. Miss Diehl gives a pleasant picture of his devotion to his art and his knightly reverence for women. But the pathos of his story is the deafness which robbed him of the sense which seemed most indispensable for a musical composer. He bore his heavy cross with patience and courage. He was 'passionate, self-willed, rough, and at times even singularly perverse,' yet there was no bitterness in him, and 'from animal vices he was as free as the most spiritual nature which can be found in the flesh.'

Life and Letters of Hannah E. Pipe. By Alice M. Stoddart. (Blackwood & Sons. 15s. net.)

Miss Stoddart was for a time a member of Miss Pipe's staff at Laleham, and enjoyed her friendship for forty years. She has therefore had special advantages in preparing this volume, and has been able to draw upon the recollections of a large circle of old pupils and friends. Miss Pipe's grandfather and her uncle were both Wesleyan ministers, and she was proud of her Methodism. She told Lady Huggins, 'I love Methodism, because one has room to breathe in it; it is the largest of all the Protestant Churches. I love it because, better than any other religious organization, it has known how to deal with the poor,' &c. Miss Pipe's father died before she was ten, and her mother had to enter into business in Manchester to maintain herself and her little daughter. Dr. W. B. Hodgson, who became Principal of Chorlton High School in 1847, first discerned Hannah Pipe's exceptional fitness for the profession of teacher, and in 1848 she began a day school in Wright Street. Then she moved to a larger house, and in 1856 ventured to take Laleham Lodge, Clapham Park, in London. Her mother was much concerned at these bold ventures, but her daughter's confidence in herself and her friends was abundantly justified. Her object was to help girls of Yorkshire and Lancashire families who had much money but little refinement. She wished to open their eyes to all that is best in this life and in that which is to come. Her school was a refined and cultured home which sent out a succession of girls to become cultivated and true-hearted wives and mothers. Miss Pipe enjoyed the special friendship and help of George Macdonald, who regularly lectured in her school, and her own character and religious earnestness made a profound impression on all her pupils. It is an inspiring story, and Miss Stoddart has told it in a way that will lay Miss Pipe's friends and old pupils under abiding obligation.

Memorials of Two Sisters: Susanna and Catherine Winkworth. Edited by their niece, Margaret J. Shaen. With two portraits. (Longmans & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Catherine Winkworth died in 1878, and her sister in 1884. Susanna began to prepare a memorial volume, and collected all the available letters, but was at last led to the conclusion that

she had not material to give an adequate picture of Catherine. She had supplied the connecting narrative up to 1858, and Miss Shaen has had the benefit of her work in the preparation of this most welcome and beautiful volume. The grandfather of the two sisters, the Rev. William Winkworth, came of a Berkshire family, and was chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark. He was the intimate friend of Romaine, Cecil, Newton, and Rowland Hill, and the first sermon ever preached in the Church of England for a missionary society was delivered in his church. His son Henry became a silk manufacturer, and married a Miss Dickenson of Pembury, whose father and uncle were both turned out of doors for becoming disciples of Whitefield. They were deacons of the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel at Tunbridge Wells for more than fifty years. In Manchester Mr. Gaskell gave lessons to the Winkworths, and they were intimate with Mrs. Gaskell, who had not yet become celebrated, but gave them the impression that 'she could write books, or do anything else in the world that she liked. And the more we knew of her, the more we admired her. She was a noble-looking woman, with a queenly presence, and her high, broad, serene brow, and finely-cut, mobile features were lighted up by a constantly varying play of expression as she poured forth her wonderful talk. It was like the gleaming ripple and rush of a clear, deep stream in sunshine.' There are some delightful glimpses of Charlotte Brontë, Jenny Lind, F. D. Maurice, Baron Bunsen, and other celebrities, and we learn much about the translations for which both sisters were famous. The volume is a loving tribute to two noble women who worthily upheld the traditions of a notable evangelical family.

Sir John Field, K.C.B., Soldier and Evangelist. By Claud Field. (Religious Tract Society. 5s. net.)

John Field landed in Bombay in 1840, at the age of eighteen, as an officer in the Indian Army, and for thirty-four years did fine service. His last appointment was that of Judge-Advocate-General of the Bombay Army. He had become deeply religious in 1843, and exhibited as much heroism in his testimony for Christ as in the Indian Mutiny, and when commanding a brigade in the Abyssinian War. On his return to England he devoted himself to all manner of good works, preaching on the sands at Ramsgate, assisting Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey in

their London mission, and serving as one of the secretaries of the Evangelical Alliance from 1879 to 1892. He lived at Blackheath for many years, and steadily visited the slums of East Greenwich; then he moved to Guildford, where he became one of Bishop Ingham's most trusted supporters. He was a whole-hearted Christian, whose labours for the salvation of all about him were unwearying. Many impressive incidents of the blessing he brought to others are given in this beautiful tribute to the memory of a noble soldier-Christian.

A History of Missions in India. By Julius Richter, D.D.
Translated by Sidney H. Moore. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Moore has done service to all missionary societies, and especially to those working in India, by this excellent translation of Dr. Richter's *magnum opus*. The Introduction, on 'The Land, the People, Religion, and Caste,' gives in brief compass a mass of facts which throw light on the whole course of the history. India is the land of villages. In England a third of the population is crowded together in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants; in India only a tenth live in towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants. Sixty-four per cent. of the people are employed in agriculture. There were Christian communities in India at the time the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* were written, and they ascribed their origin to the apostle. 'John, Bishop of all Persia and Greater India,' was present at the Council of Nicaea. The Danish Mission, which Ziegenbalg and Plütschau began in 1706, marks the beginning of modern missions in India, but little progress was made till Schwartz landed in 1750, and even to-day the 'Royal Priest of Tanjore,' as he was called, 'pervades the Tamil Mission like a gracious perfume.' Dr. Richter divides the work of the nineteenth century into four sections—the age of Carey, of Dr. Duff, from the Mutiny to 1879, and from 1880 onwards. His closing chapters are entitled—'Religious Problems of Indian Missions; Missionary Organization; The Leaven at Work; The Success of Missions; The Christian Church of India.' A new era has dawned, and in many departments missionaries have been the pioneers. The *History* will be indispensable to all students of Indian missions. It is singularly interesting, and packed with facts and figures which every missionary advocate will find of constant service.

A Mission to the Transvaal. By the Rev. Amos Burnet.
With map. (Culley. 1s. net.)

Mr. Burnet has spent six years in Johannesburg as head of the great Methodist Mission in the Transvaal and Swaziland during a most critical period. After referring to his call to go out to South Africa, Mr. Burnet describes 'the new land' in which he found himself. Tracts of country much larger than Yorkshire were untouched by railways, and native churches lay eighty to a hundred miles from the nearest station. South Africa is 'a seething chaos of unsolved problems.' When the Boer War ceased the work of reconstruction had to begin, but the rapid recovery was astonishing. Mr. Burnet tells the story of David Magata, the heroic native who was the real founder of the Transvaal Mission; then he comes down to 1882, when the first Synod was held in Pretoria, and the work began to spread from point to point. He describes his own first survey, and the great advance which began the following year. His facts and figures are inspiring, and he points out the present opportunities in a way that will deeply impress all readers of this volume. It is the book of a man whose life has been devoted to South Africa, and it will make a deep and permanent impression. There is a first-rate map of the Transvaal.

Sydney Rupert Hodge, the Beloved Physician. By the Rev. J. K. Hill. (Culley. 1s. net.)

Dr. Hodge was a man of strong character, who made his mark wherever he went. As one of the first scholars of The Leys, he was a tower of strength to Dr. Moulton, and when David Hill won him for China, he showed the same capacity for influencing others. We are glad that David Hill's nephew was asked to write this little book. It holds our attention from first to last. It is so unaffected, so full of its subject that it forms a living portrait of one of the noblest and most successful medical missionaries that ever worked in China. Dr. Hodge was as gentle as he was skilful, and his passion for preaching was never quenched by the strain and pressure of hospital life. The record will appeal strongly to young men and women who have enjoyed great advantages, and will lead them, we trust, to dedicate their gifts to the service for which this saintly physician joyfully laid down his life.

Messrs. Seeley's *Library of Romance* (5s.) is growing, and

no volumes combine instruction and pleasure more skilfully. The get-up tempts a young reader, they are profusely illustrated and brightly written. *Heroines of Missionary Adventure*, by Canon Dawson, is a delightful portrait gallery which includes Mrs. Duff, Mrs. Robert Clark, A.L.O.E., Irene Petrie, Mrs. Bishop, and other noble women, and brings out the lessons of each life. *Heroes of Modern Crusades*, by Edward Gilliatt, M.A., begins with Wilberforce and the fight against the slave-trade. Then it describes the American struggle and the work of Lincoln. Modern heroes, like Sir George Williams, Father Mathew, Quintin Hogg, and Dr. Barnardo, have their fitting place in a book of which every Englishman will be proud. *The Romance of Early British Life*, by G. F. Scott Elliott, puts much material drawn from learned works in a picturesque form. It begins with the first man in Britain, and comes down to the days of Alfred. Mr. Elliott knows his subject, and knows how to interest his readers. *Astronomy of To-day*, by C. G. Dolmage (5s. net), is intended for general readers, and gives a complete outline of the science in the clearest and most attractive fashion. The ancient view of astronomy and the modern view are set forth, and sun, moon, planets, stars, comets, and astronomical methods, are clearly and attractively described. It is a book that will make many young students of the sun and stars.

The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay; The Early History of Charles James Fox. By Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Bart. (Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d. each.)

Sir George Trevelyan has good reason to be proud of the reception given to this Life of his uncle. It is thirty years since it was first published, and in several instances a misprint or a verbal error has been brought to his notice by at least five-and-twenty different persons. There is hardly a page which has not afforded occasion for comment or suggestion from some correspondent. This edition not only gives the original work unabridged, but notes have been added at the end of three chapters, and there are four Appendices. Miss Thornton's delightful letter to Hannah More about Macaulay's speech at Freemasons' Hall in 1824 is here. The notes in books read at Calcutta are also given, and Mr. Salkeld's account of the historian's visits to his old book-shop. The new chapter on Macaulay's marginal notes will be studied with great delight.

Sir George Trevelyan's volume on Fox was published in 1880, and this is the eleventh reprint. A four-page Appendix has been added on 'Fox's Letters to Richard Fitzpatrick.' They refer to a visit paid to Castle Howard. He is almost stern in his reprobation of the matrimonial contentment fearlessly displayed there, little dreaming of the time when he would be happy to live alone with his wife in the very depth of rural retirement. The book is one that every student of English parliamentary life will find it necessary to have on his shelves.

Earl Stanhope's *Reign of Queen Anne* (John Murray, 5s. net), which by the use of thin paper has been packed comfortably into one handy volume, will be of service to all students of the period. The work was prepared as a continuation of Lord Macaulay's *History of England*, so that it begins in 1701 and ends with the Peace of Utrecht, when Lord Stanhope's own History takes up the thread of events. His work suffers from a comparison with Macaulay's brilliant masterpiece, but it is admirable for its clearness and its presentation of facts. It is pleasant to read, it is marked by strong sense and sound judgement. Marlborough is the great figure of the reign, and Earl Stanhope's description of the man who so signally retrieved the ancient glory of England is stately and impressive. 'To Marlborough beyond all others belongs the praise of bringing back to our arms the full lustre that beamed upon them in the days of the Edwards and the Henries. The days of Queen Anne need fear no comparison with these. Ramillies and Blenheim are worthy to be enrolled side by side with Agincourt, Cressy, and Poitiers.' We are thankful to have this cheap and neat reprint.

The Fascination of London. Shoreditch and the East End; Hackney and Stoke Newington. By Sir Walter Besant and others. (Black. 1s. 6d. net each.)

These little volumes make a strong appeal to every lover of London. They are full of facts about famous houses and old residents, but they help us also to understand the industrial life of East London to-day. It is encouraging to find that not more than thirty or forty small and obscure streets in this vast area can be described as 'the actual old-fashioned slums, the resort of the criminal and the casual.' Both of these volumes are brightly written, and tell us just the things we wish to know. The maps are excellent.

The History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature, with an Appendix on the Hebrew Chronology. By Samuel Sharpe. Sixth edition. (Stock. 3s. 6d. net.)

A reprint of a well-known work. A striking feature is that the work, published long before the full development of the critical theory, anticipates in a general way the positions of the theory, although there are notable exceptions. Thus, the writer says that the Hebrew religion 'began with priestly ceremonialism.' His method is to use the historical facts as a means of fixing the date of the books, or portions of the books, as is done by the critical school. The result is often avowedly conjectural. The sequence everywhere is a natural one. The miraculous is quietly passed over or set aside. Under these limitations the work gives a full, clear, connected narrative of Hebrew history to the time of the Roman conquest, and has no doubt already proved useful to teachers and students. The Table of Contents and Chronological Table are valuable additions.

The Oxford Reformers and English Church Principles: their Rise, Trial, and Triumph. By the late George Fox Bridges, of Oxford. (Elliot Stock. 5s. net.)

This book was written more than forty-five years ago by an Oxford layman, but it is now published for the first time, having been revised and re-written by the author's nephew, the Rev. W. G. Bridges, M.A. The first part consists of an historical account of the Oxford Reformers during the 150 years' struggle for an open Bible. The second part gives quotations from their writings, illustrating English Church principles, and bringing out the Protestant character of the system of divinity taught by these ancient worthies. On the true ground of separation from Rome, the Reformers are shown to have been well aware of 'the vital difference between the religion of Rome and that of the Bible.' From this point of view the volume will be found to cast light upon present-day controversies.

Scandinavian Britain. By W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.)

The introductory chapters of this book, written by Prof. York Powell, deal with the materials for the study of the period, the mother-land and peoples and the Wicking fleets.

Mr. Collingwood describes the earliest raids, the Danelaw, and the Norse settlements in various parts of this country. The book is packed with information on a period which is comparatively little known, and it is both clearly and pleasantly written. It would well repay every Englishman to study the volume with care. It has a good map of Scandinavian Britain.

Thomas Healing: Lover of Children, Teacher of Teachers.

By C. Arnold Healing, M.A. (J. W. Butcher. 1s. net.)

The genial and able man who left our 'weary ways' early in last year is made to live again in this little book. His son has wrought well, writing with affection tempered by restraint, as ought ever to be the case when the relationship is so close. His work has style, picturesqueness, and proportion. It is pleasant by means of these pages to trace the course of Thomas Healing from the cottage of his birth, with its Christian atmosphere, to his sagacious and helpful age, and to mark the development of a character which would ultimately be rich in influence, especially over young people, and over his successors in the honourable profession of teaching. Among the formative influences of his earlier life were the men under whose spell he came, or with whom he was thrown into association, and there are references here to some of these which are very vignettes, notably John Burton, James Smetham, and Matthew Arnold. We owe more than we yet know to Mr. Healing's zeal and devotion to religious work among the young. He was an enthusiast of the best type, and always a courteous Christian gentleman. Men of his type are a gift to the Church, and cannot help being a blessing in the world.

Carest thou not? Facts and Incidents in the History of the Seamen's Mission. By C. J. O. Sanders. (Culley. 1s. net.)

The author shows that when the Seamen's Mission was founded in 1843 a light which has gradually increased in brightness began to shine 'on the rough pathway of the sailor.' It is a well-written narrative, full of interest, and the illustrations are excellent. Every reader of Mr. Sanders's book will rejoice in the manifold agencies now established in connexion with the Seamen's Mission, and will desire to help in the extension of its beneficent activities.

GENERAL

In the Abruzzi. By Annie Macdonell. With twelve illustrations after water-colour drawings by Amy Atkinson. (Chatto & Windus. 6s. net.)

LOOKING eastward from Rome, across the Campagna, vague mountain masses are seen in the distance which shut in the strange, uncouth provinces of the Abruzzi. The richer North Italian is more attracted by Switzerland and our Highlands than by this land with its wild, pure air and its 'dazzling, whirling light that makes the blood dance in the veins.' The days are past when the three provinces were a haunt of brigands, though Miss Macdonell has some stirring tales to tell of Marco Sciarra, whose name struck terror into travellers at the end of the sixteenth century. A large part of the population are shepherds, who find excellent pasture on the high levels. They return to the plains in May with their thousands of sheep and their 'huge, beautiful, shaggy white' dogs, 'so docile to their masters and to them alone.' They are unmatched for strength and ferocity. 'On the road to Pettorano we were suddenly surrounded by six of the great creatures. One or two showed their teeth, and six pairs of red eyes glowed like coals. But slowly the circle they made relaxed, and they went their ways.' America is the chief outlet for the Abruzzesi. Almost every young artisan or peasant has crossed the ocean and come back with his little pocketful of money, which goes into the rocky farm. The women are as a rule better developed and handsomer than the men, and they are the sap of the country. Celano, where the author of the *Dies Irae* was born, has lost its prosperity, but its castle is the finest in the Abruzzi. Ovid was born further south, at Sulmona. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's father was a blacksmith at Vasto, which hangs on its cliffs overlooking the Adriatic, with fertile plains and olive groves stretching west and south. The book introduces English readers to something like a new world, and its striking illustrations help one to understand Miss Macdonell's enthusiasm for the country.

The Bible of Nature. By J. Arthur Thomson, M.A.
(T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

These five lectures were delivered at Lake Forest College, Illinois, on the Bross Foundation. They are an admirably lucid and masterly discussion of the history or Genesis of Nature. Prof. Thomson brings wide scientific knowledge to his task, and he is by no means blind to the fact that science utterly fails to tell us 'how the first clock, from which all the other clocks are descended, came into being.' She has to answer that she does not know. The story in these lectures is told so as to suggest, as one of our foremost investigators has said, that 'men of science seek, in all reverence, to discover the Almighty, the Everlasting.' The first lecture on 'The Wonder of the World,' with its impressive illustrations, will deepen the feeling of wonder which lies at the roots of science and philosophy, and which will always be one of the footstools of religion. That is the easiest part of Prof. Thomson's task. When he turns to 'The History of Things' his difficulties begin. Science attempts to give a descriptive account of occurrences rather than an explanation of them. As it goes back it reaches 'something—so very old, so very wonderful, that science can give no name to it.' As to the actual history of things disclosed by the Palaeontologists, we are much at fault. 'If we had a series of instantaneous daily photographs of all that has taken place since life began to be, a complete pictorial history of the past would be possible, and evolution would be verified.' Readers of THE LONDON QUARTERLY know enough of Prof. Thomson's writings to understand how efficiently the argument of these lectures is worked out. But the impression left on our minds is that the Bible of Nature is harder to interpret than the Old Testament, and we wait for some Newton, 'who may be born any day,' to throw light on the wonders which are continually growing more inexplicable as man searches them out. To our minds these lectures add new weight to the belief that Nature leads us back step by step till we stand face to face with the Almighty and Eternal Father and Creator.

Bird-hunting through Wild Europe. By R. B. Lodge.
With 124 illustrations from photographs by the
author. (Culley. 7s. 6d. net.)

It is saying a great deal, but in this narrative of his bird-hunting expeditions Mr. Lodge excels himself. He begins

with his journey to Andalusia in March 1905. He and his companion had not been in Ronda an hour when the first griffon they had seen in a wild state came sailing just over their heads. Attempts to secure photographs of the vultures failed for some time, but at last Mr. Lodge managed to bring his camera and telephoto lens to bear on a griffon quietly sitting in her nest in a big hole by the side of a half-grown young bird. Only a few yards away was a fine Egyptian vulture, and the outside sticks of her nest could be seen projecting over the edge of the rock. Mr. Lodge lay awake all that night considering how to master the difficult bit of rock-face, but, though he got within a few feet of the nest next morning, he had to abandon the attempt. He managed, however, to get the egg of a Bonelli's eagle on another crag. Next spring Mr. Lodge turned to Bosnia and Montenegro, searching for the nesting-places of the Dalmatian pelican. Mr. Lodge has the art of making himself at home wherever he goes, and his book is full of happy bits of description which make its scenes live before one's eyes. It is quite common to see farmers in Albania 'ploughing their lands with a loaded rifle slung over their shoulder; and even on the way to church the men all go armed.' Mr. Lodge heard of men who had not been able to go outside their houses for years for fear of being shot at sight. The pelicans were duly found, and some charming photographs taken, which appear in this book. Even more attractive are those of the white heron, especially of its young. In 1907 Mr. Lodge revisited the Balkans, adding much to his treasures. His photographs are works of art, and they are splendidly reproduced in one of the most fascinating books on bird life that we have ever seen.

1. *The Story of the Sea and Seashore.* By W. Percival Westell, F.L.S., M.B.O.U. (5s. net.)
2. *The Young People's Nature-Study Book, in Garden, Field, and Wood.* By Rev. S. N. Sedgwick, M.A. (Culley. 3s. 6d. net.)

1. This is a very attractive book. It has eight coloured plates and 128 photos and drawings, and Mr. Westell's chapters are full of information put in a way that arrests attention and never allows it to flag. The story begins with sea monsters, such as whales, sharks, dog-fishes, and the octopus. A great deal of information is skilfully given. Then we pass to porpoises, dolphins, and seals. 'When young the porpoise-pig is no

larger than a mackerel, and a very attractive little animal it is.' The chapters on 'Some Common Sea Fishes,' 'Some Birds of the Open Sea,' and 'Some Birds of the Seashore,' are beautifully illustrated and full of information. The last chapters deal with crustaceans; mollusca, or shell-fish; sea-urchins, &c.; sea mouse, sea slugs; plants and shrubs of the sea and seashore. The book is sure to be popular. It is a companion volume to Mr. Westell's *Story of Insect Life*, and those who wish to open to their children a world of Nature's wonders will know how to prize it. It is astonishing that such a book can be sold for five shillings net.

2. Mr. Sedgwick is a real benefactor to lovers of Nature who have only narrow means. For a few shillings we learn how young folk can fit themselves up with instruments which will enable them to do successful work in any branch of Nature-study. Boys and girls are drilled into habits of watching birds and animals with deliberate care, and taught to keep a note-book. We see how to make a Nature-camera for ten shillings; we get notes on British mammals, on birds and their eggs, on flowers and insects. One hundred and fifty-eight photographs from Nature are given, four coloured plates of eggs, and a chart for identifying birds' nests and eggs. This book will make Nature a world of ever new delights to all young readers.

The Heavens and their Story. By Annie and E. W. Maunder. With eight coloured plates and thirty-eight astronomical photographs, and fifty-one other illustrations. (Culley. 5s. net.)

Mr. and Mrs. Maunder have produced a delightful book which the Astronomer-Royal, and other distinguished workers in this field, have enriched by permission to use some superb illustrations. Mrs. Maunder is chiefly responsible for the volume, and there is certainly not an uninteresting sentence in it. First we watch the heavens themselves without a telescope, learning to appreciate the wonder and beauty of nature there revealed. Then the marvels made known by telescope, spectroscope, and camera are set forth; in the third book planets, comets, moon tell their story, in the fourth the stars and nebulae teach us some of the vastness and mystery of the stellar universe. There are many popular books on astronomy, but this strikes out a line of its own, which makes it singularly

helpful to beginners. It is easy to read and rich in facts which give new meaning to the heavens. Its illustrations are entrancing, and so is the whole volume.

At Large. By Arthur Christopher Benson. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Twelve of these papers have appeared in *Cornhill*, those on 'Equality, A Speech Day, Literary Finish, A Midsummer's Day Dream, Symbols, and Joy' are now first published. 'The Scene,' which opens the volume, is an introduction to Mr. Benson's country house, once a monastic grange of Ely, where sick monks retired for rest and change. It makes us feel at once at home with the writer, eager to discuss the great things of life with our host. Each paper has its own charm. That on 'Shyness' is a delightful study of experiences which are painfully familiar to most of us. The cataract of flunkeys poured down upon the floor at family prayer is a bit not to be forgotten. 'Kelmscott and William Morris' is a paper for which many will be thankful. Mr. Benson cannot deny the name of hero to Morris as he thinks of the poet's sympathy with the toiling thousands of humanity who seemed to be cut off from the enjoyment of the beautiful things which Morris loved, and in whom the very instinct for beauty had been atrophied and almost eradicated by sad inheritance. There is much rich material for quiet thought in this volume.

The Methodist Class-meeting. By Gilbert Murray. (Culley. 2s. 6d.)

The rise, purpose, and ministry of the Methodist Class-meeting are here discussed in a way that cannot fail to excite interest and show the importance of this historic institution as 'an effective and necessary means of grace.' The writer draws largely on the records of Wesley's life and work for material, and his appeal lies to every member of the Methodist family of Churches at home and abroad. His book is divided into three sections: 'A Statement,' which includes the genesis, design, ministry, and declination of the class-meeting; An Inquiry—Is it obsolete, played out, supplanted, essential?; A Suggestion—Of the impossible, the ideal, the practicable. It is the work of a careful student of early Methodism, and reveals a deep sense of the necessity of Christian fellowship for healthy spiritual life, and a conviction that the class-meeting meets the

case as nothing else can do. The book is wise, timely, practical. It deserves a careful reading, and will not fail to make an abiding impression.

Selected Poems of Francis Thompson. (Burns & Oates. 5s. net.)

Francis Thompson's story is one of the tragedies of English poetry. He was the son of a Lancashire doctor who became a Roman Catholic and sent his son to Ushaw. He was well educated, and was intended for his father's profession. But the youth was devoured by the ambition of becoming a great writer. He had no heart for medicine, failed in all his examinations, took to evil courses, and for five years starved in the streets of London. He had almost committed suicide when an editor who had published some of his verses rescued him and sent him to Storrington, at the foot of the Sussex Downs, to be under the care of the monks. There he wrote 'The Hound of Heaven,' and other of his noblest poems. Then he wandered back to London and to 'the way of death he had chosen.' The tragedy ended on November 13, 1907, when Thompson was laid to rest with some of George Meredith's roses, bearing the inscription, 'A true poet, one of a small band,' in his coffin. Thompson had the delight of reading Burne-Jones's tribute to 'The Hound of Heaven,' that 'since Gabriel's "Blessed Damozel" no mystical words have so touched me. Shall I ever forget how I undressed and dressed again, and had to undress again—a thing I most hate—because I could think of nothing else?' It is only necessary to read the lines in which he dedicated his *Poems* to Wilfrid and Alice Meynell to recognize him as a true poet. 'Daisy,' the village maid he met on Storrington Common, is enshrined in the verses which stand first in this selection. 'The Poppy' has that fine simile of Love's guest-hall, where—

In how differing accents hear the throng
His great Pentecostal tongue.

'A Carrier Song' is a delicious bit of melody, and 'The Way of a Maid' brings a smile to one's eyes by the closing lines—

And while she feels the heavens lie bare,—
She only talks about her hair.

The 'Ode to the Setting Sun' and 'The Hound of Heaven'

are its chief treasures, but it is a book of pure gold, and the verses found among Thompson's papers after his death, 'In No Strange Land,' are the final proof of the spirituality so strangely mixed with frailty in the poet's life.

The Pilgrim's Way: A Little Scrip of Good Counsel for Travellers, chosen by A. T. Quiller-Couch (Seeley & Co., 3s. net; leather, 5s. net), has reached a new edition, and it well deserves that honour. The Preface pleads that the good old custom of going on pilgrimage should not be discontinued. The pilgrimage begins with 'Childhood' and passes on to 'Youth, Marriage and Children, House and Garden, Work and the Daily Round,' till it ends with 'Age and Death.' The selection could only have been made by a master, and at every page old favourites mingle with gems of prose and poetry that are less familiar but scarcely less beautiful. We are grateful for the full contents, the list of titles, first lines of verses, authors' names. The type is clear, the binding, with its gilt lines, and the end-papers, make an attractive setting for the wealth of lovely things which Mr. Quiller-Couch has gathered together for his friends.

The Road to Happiness. By E. W. Walters. (Culley. 1s. 6d. net.)

A fresh and valuable anthology of prose and verse arranged with a view to fostering 'a mood of sunny enjoyment.' The selection has been made with taste and judgement, and the passages arranged with art and skill. In its charming *format*, this should prove one of the most attractive gift-books of the season. It is not only a 'garden of delights,' but a treasure-house of stimulating and suggestive thoughts. The elements and aliments of happiness are set forth in choice language by the finest writers of all times. 'The way to find happiness,' says Mr. Walters in his Preface, 'is, in the main, to be satisfied with our possessions; to despise nothing in the world except falseness and meanness, and to fear nothing except cowardice; to be governed by our admirations rather than our disgusts; to covet nothing that is our neighbour's except his kindness of heart and gentleness of manners; to think seldom of our enemies, often of our friends, and every day of Christ; and to spend as much time as we can, both in body and spirit, in God's out-of-doors.'

The Little Shakespeare, issued by Messrs. Bryce of Glasgow, weighs less than three ounces, but it is a complete edition, with forty original illustrations, eight of the most authentic portraits of the dramatist, a Glossary and a Biographical Introduction. There are 1024 pages, and the price is only half-a-crown. The type is very small, but it is distinct. It is a wonder of the printer's art.

Messrs. Black are giving children *Peeps at Many Lands* (1s. 6d. net). They are large square crown octavo volumes, each of which has twelve full-page illustrations in colours. The book on *England* is written by John Finnemore. In eighteen bright sections we get a glimpse of London, the Thames, Wessex, Shakespeare's country, the Lakes, and other parts of the country. The book will increase every boy's and girl's pride in England. They will learn a great deal from it in the pleasantest fashion. A larger volume attempts the more ambitious task of giving a peep at *The World* (3s. 6d. net). Mr. Ascott R. Hope is the guide, and in thirty-four chapters makes the tour of the globe. There are thirty-seven full-page illustrations in colours, and a good sketch-map. This is a panorama which all boys and girls will delight in.

The Great English Letter-writers. By W. J. & C. W. Dawson. Two vols. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net per vol.)

These are the earliest volumes of *The Reader's Library*, by which Mr. Dawson and his son are about to introduce us more closely to the great essayists, historians, biographers, novelists, devotional writers, nature lovers, and lyric poets of our literature. *The Letter-writers* supply much delightful reading, and though copyright has sometimes limited the selection, ample material has been found for two enthralling volumes. The names include those of many famous men and women, and the subjects are as delightfully varied. A letter often throws a revealing light on the writer's nature and spirit, and admits us to his confidence as no formal biography can do. Keats is regarded as 'the best representative of what may be called inspired letter-writing. He never stirs far from his dream-garden, which lies midway between waking and sleeping.' 'Bygone Lovers' is full of pleasant things, and 'The Artist and his Art,' 'Oddities,' 'Literary Verdicts,' 'One Day in his

Life,' and other sections, will suggest the riches gathered into this set. We hope *The Reader's Library* may have great success; it will certainly give great pleasure to its readers if these first volumes are a fair sample of what we may expect.

Diana Mallory. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s.) No novelist of our time gives us more finely finished work than Mrs. Humphry Ward. There is not a weak sentence in this book. The literary artist is evident in every line. We are conscious, also, of a deepening hold on spiritual things, a sense of the ruin wrought by sin, and a sympathy with true religion in all its forms. Diana Mallory's life is almost wrecked by her dead mother's sin. The description of Juliet Sparling's fall into the clutches of gamblers and the tragedy that closes her bitter story will make a powerful appeal to some whose feet are beginning to slip. Diana herself is a noble woman. The revelation of her mother's history comes at the moment of Diana's engagement to Oliver Marsham. It lays her life in ruins. The engagement is broken off, and she flies to Italy to recover courage and hope. The two men who play the part of father to her in her grief make a deeply interesting study. They are both bachelors, one the leader of the Opposition, the other the chief criminal lawyer of the time. They help Diana to regain strength of body and mind, and when Oliver Marsham has gone down into the depths of sorrow and pain, she becomes his good angel and brings life and hope to the man she still loved.

MR. CULLEY'S BOOKS.

The Seed of the Righteous. By Frank T. Bullen. With twelve illustrations by Arthur Twidle. (6s.) Mr. Bullen's story makes a strong appeal to all who love the poor. Its opening chapters are tragic. The signalman is killed on the line, his wife dies from the shock, and their four children are sent to the workhouse. Richard Hertford had been a godly man, and his mantle seems to rest on his eldest child, a boy of six. He is the hero of the story. He becomes a father to the three younger children, and is never happy till he makes a home for them with his own wages. His struggles are not merely painted from life, but from personal experience. The reader's heart grows tender as he follows the fortunes of the plucky lad, and sees

how friends rise up to help him when he needs them most. His mission work in a London slum, and his happy courtship and marriage show how joy comes at last to the lonely hero. It is a tale that strengthens faith in God's providence, and teaches many a happy lesson for young and old.—*The Prophet's Raven*. By Mark Guy Pearse. (2s.) Mr. Pearse has surpassed himself in this story. Miss Zelia gave herself the quaint title when she invited the local preacher to be her guest. She is the heroine of the book. Angry and selfish feelings melt away as this gentle and loving woman goes about doing good. The worse men and women are the more she loves them, and her victories over the parson's wife and old drunken Mrs. Trembath make one's heart glow. Children fill a large place on Mr. Pearse's canvas, and they are painted with skill and tenderness. The whole book is delightful, and we pity the reader who is not better for an hour or two in such company.—*The Secret of the Golden Key*. Lucilla. (6s.) 'Lucilla' is to us an unfamiliar name in the realm of romance, and if this is the first adventure the writer is to be congratulated upon a story of real distinction and power. The striking days of Catherine de' Medici in France, the days of the bitter and heartless persecution of the Huguenots by the Roman Catholics, provide the very substance out of which fine romances may be wrought. There is movement, passion, cruelty, a sphere of rare nobleness and high fidelity, and these can be turned into dramatic situations and enthralling interests. And that is exactly what has happened in the present story. The writer has given us a vivid picture of a Huguenot family of distinction, and from that the interests run in two distinct directions. First there is the effort to win the family to the Roman Church, and one feels the brooding spirit of callousness, espionage, and unscrupulousness; and the spirit of protest and revolt, as well as of daring loyalty and high-souledness. And then there are the romances which are sure to befall a family with four lovely girls as part of it, the vicissitudes of their love-making, the hopes and fears, before the days of happy realization. The writer shows complete mastery of the materials, and knits both the dominant interests into coherence with a master hand, and ends by giving us a story which, while it illuminates and reveals, is full of absorbing interest, and holds the attention from first to last as with a spell. This is a romance of quite uncommon ability. It is artistic, wholesome, and full of high impulse and arrestive and

dominating power.—*Nell of Glen Maye*. By Edward H. Jackson. (2s. 6d.) This story is laid in the Isle of Man, the beauty of whose scenery, and the wonder as well as the changefulness of whose seas, gives ample scope for Mr. Jackson's picturesque pen; and we have some delicate pictures of natural beauty, as well as some storm pieces of more or less power. But the supreme interest is the human interest, and centres around two girls, whose characters are a foil to each other. The one is gentle, deep, and reverent, the other frivolous, vulgar, shallow; the latter is swayed by a badly-inspired ambition, is full of deceit and jealousy, and is unscrupulous both in purpose and effort. Things often get badly tangled, and tragedy more than once is unveiled in the pages, and deep sorrows come, and sometimes comedy—the sprite of the laughing eyes. But, at the last, poetic justice is done, and the story ends in the calm of a brooding peace. The character drawing is vivid and sure, the story is carefully and congruously knit together, and a fine moral tone runs through every part. We think it is a distinct advance upon Mr. Jackson's previous story.—*The Gift of the Sea*. By A. B. Cooper. (2s. 6d.) Mr. Cooper has proved that he can weave a pretty story, and, moreover, a Methodist story; and, may we add, he has not read George Eliot in vain. His main character, Miss Ashton, is a good specimen of the type of woman now usually regarded as old-fashioned, but who may yet be found here and there. She is ready to undertake the nearest duty, and accepts 'the gift of the sea' with gladness. How she is rewarded for this act the sequel shows. Lena—'a mere foundling, a waif'—is the central figure of the story, and we are not surprised that Neville Connor loses his heart. But does not the author ask too much of us when he represents Connor as giving his 'experiences' at a Methodist meeting? Still, Connor is so frank and good-hearted that we cannot but rejoice with him in his new-found joy. He is a fine character, finely portrayed. This delightful story, which is artistically produced and well illustrated, will form a capital present to young folk.—*Engineers, Halt!* by E. C. Rundle Woolcock (3s. 6d.), is a soldiers' story full of spirit and movement. Lois Darrell lived and died for the men she loved, and we watch her fighting their battles and helping them to conquer themselves. Officers and men yield to the magic of the girl's devotion, until the whole regiment is changed. Mrs. Woolcock's latest story has all the fire and vivacity of her earlier books, and soldiers

and civilians will be enthralled by it.—*Shadows of the Morning: A Methodist Story of To-day.* By Thomas Saunders. (2s.) A good story, well told; a beautiful story, full of genuine feeling, and nourishing to all the higher instincts of the soul. It is also a Methodist story, and true to modern Methodist life, although we doubt whether such a discussion as that described in the chapter on 'The Leaders' Meeting' was ever heard in any Wesleyan Church; nor was such a resolution ever entered on a Wesleyan minute-book. The scene at the death-bed of Henry Haynes is exceedingly beautiful, and many other passages in the story bring tears into the heart and eyes. In the end it is found that 'the sunshine has at last dispersed the shadows of the morning.'

—*Gone: No Address.* By Annie Drummond. (2s. net.) Like most stories, this is double-barrelled; that is to say, it deals with two aspects of life—the life of the well-to-do and the life of the poverty-stricken. As a temperance tale it reveals the horrors of drink, and shows how insidiously it enters the home. At a time when the licensing question still holds an important place in politics, this book is eminently suitable as a school prize, and may be the means of bringing young readers to realize more vividly the dangers arising from intemperance. The double story is told simply and dramatically, and, of course, as usual, ends well, if not happily. It is not until we nearly reach the end that the title, 'Gone: No Address,' is justified, though the previous chapters make it pretty plain what we may expect. As for the heroine—if we may so call Mrs. Rochester—she endeavours to atone for her past shortcomings by going into the by-ways and high-ways, and is never tired of speaking of the loving Providence that has so wonderfully led her through the many experiences of her life.—*Glory Court.* By Charles Aver. (2s. net.) This is a temperance tale set off with two love stories. The author shows the enormous influence wielded by 'the trade,' and in its champion, Mr. Wynn, he presents a figure of the better type of men who are so thoroughly permeated with the justice of their claims that they fail to see any danger lurking therein. By a series of events which are told in a pleasing style, Enoch Wynn is at last taught that he has been mistaken, though he acknowledges he has been 'twisted round his daughter's finger.' We do not see anything remarkable about Marion, but Paul Mason, the hero of the story, is distinctly good, and is proved to be 'a man of metal.' *Glory Court* is got up in the now well-known artistic style of the

Methodist Publishing House, and it is a marvel of cheapness.—*A Son of the Silence* (3s. 6d.) is one of the most spirited stories Ramsay Guthrie has written. The farmer's son who loves a baronet's daughter and wins her hand and heart is worthy of his good fortune. He has a touch of genius which soon wins him high reputation as a Methodist preacher, and when his health breaks down he gains a still greater reputation with his pen. It is a story of the Forward Movement in Methodism, and some of the portraits are manifestly drawn from life. What pleases us best is its optimism and its overflowing enthusiasm.—*A Spray of Wattle Blossom*. By May Watkin. (2s. 6d.) Here are four Australian stories, the longest—'Love's Girdle'—taking up the greater part of the book. Evelyn Hope is not without imagination, for she had 'never watched the sun sink into the sea without the vague expectation of hearing a gigantic fizz as those two elements appeared to come into contact.' Like most heroines of the story-book she has her misfortunes: both parents die, and she is left to the mercy of one who legitimately laid claim to her estate. But the law of compensation comes to her help. It is true her rival lovers cause some perturbation on the part of Evelyn, yet it is evident from the first that Jack Fordyce was her real lover, and she returned his love with all the depth and ardour of her nature.—*The Maid of Monkseaton*. By James Cuthbertson. (3s. 6d.) This nicely-illustrated and vigorously-written historical romance should prove acceptable as a reward and be in good demand in all our libraries and Sunday schools. The author has a vivid historical imagination, and has succeeded in reproducing the scenes and struggles of our early British Christianity. The Saxon maid who fills the story is a heroine indeed. She is brought to Christ by Hilda, the famous Abbess of Whitby, and her gifts of leadership are manifested both in religious and in secular affairs. The struggle between the more primitive Celtic Christianity and the Augustinian popery by which it was replaced is described with clearness and with graphic force: intrigues, plots and schemes abound, and stirring incidents on land and sea; and the story, in its later stages, profits by the author's visit, years ago, to Rome and Athens and the Holy Land.—*Martin Rattler*, by R. M. Ballantyne (2s.), is a story of adventure in Brazil. There is a great deal of natural history and much about the Indian tribes which will delight boys. Its coloured illustrations are very well done.—*The Dog*

Crusoe and his Master (with coloured illustrations, 2s.) is the story of a Newfoundland pup whom Dick Varley wins in a shooting match and trains into a splendid helper in his prairie life. The book is full of adventures which will stir every young reader's blood.

The *Oxford Thackeray*, published by Mr. Frowde, will be a treasure for all lovers of our great and genial humourist. It is in seventeen neat green cloth volumes, embossed and gilt-lettered. The writings are arranged as far as possible in chronological order. The type is clear, the paper good, the illustrations plentiful. *The Yellow-plush Papers and Early Miscellanies* has 64 pictures, *The Paris Sketch Book and Art Criticisms*, 103. Mr. Saintsbury writes a Biographical Sketch and an Introduction to each volume. The price is only two shillings net. The editor has wisely abstained from including the purely ephemeral pieces which have been discovered since 1886, but he has taken care to insert the few things that are really good.

Messrs. Nelson and Sons' cheap reprints have made the reading world their debtors. The *Sixpenny Classics* were an achievement of which any firm might be proud; the *Library of Copyright Fiction*, in red cloth at 7d. net, was a still bolder achievement. The *Shilling Library of Notable Copyright Books*, as the publishers justly claim, 'completes the cycle of cheap publishing.' The embossed blue cloth covers are most attractive, there are good portraits and other illustrations, the type is excellent, and so is the paper. The first twelve volumes are all famous books. Edward Whympers's *Rambles Amongst the Alps*; Conan Doyle's *Great Boer War*; G. W. E. Russell's *Collections and Recollections*; Trotter's *Life of John Nicholson*; Lord Brampton's *Reminiscences*; Dean Hole's *Memories*; Mr. Protheroe's *Psalms in Human Life*; Jefferies' *Wild Life in a Southern County*; Kenneth Grahame's *Golden Age* are all treasures. No novels are to be included in the Library. It is intended to include the best copyright works of Travel, Biography, History, &c. It would cost £5 10s. to get the ordinary editions of the books which Messrs. Nelson offer for 12s. net. We hope their enterprise will be largely rewarded. No one can afford to miss the opportunity of getting these charming volumes, and those who are wise will do this without delay.

Newnes' Shilling Novels in green cloth make very attractive volumes, and the type is very clear. Popular stories by Joseph Hocking, J. M. Barrie, Hall Caine, Gilbert Parker, and John Oxenham, are included. The series will appeal strongly to all who wish to have a good tale in a cheap and tempting form.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has issued a very attractive set of story-books for boys and girls. The two school-boys (*Blown Out To Sea*, 3s. 6d., by W. C. Metcalfe) have many exciting adventures, but all are eclipsed when they and two apprentices on board the *Storm King* fall into the hands of pirates in the China seas. They contrive to escape in a junk and get back to their own vessel in time to save her from pirates. *Septima* (2s. 6d.) is a pretty lace-maker who is a model of constancy. Her long-lost lover comes home safely at last.—The scene of *Between two Crusades* (2s. 6d.) is laid in Palestine in 1187. Saladin is a conspicuous figure. Boys will learn much from the story.—*The Royalist Brothers* (2s. 6d.). Gregory and Hilary fight against Lord Fairfax at Colchester in 1648, and their pardon is due to the good offices of Lady Fairfax. It is a story of unusual interest.—*Martha Wren* (2s.) will be a very welcome gift for young servants.—*Heroine Or?* (2s.) Winnie Dackombe and her soldier father are devoted to each other, and the father's second marriage is a delight to both of them.—*Rolf the Rebel* (2s.) is an English boy who finds his way to Cuba. It will introduce many young readers to a new world. All the books have coloured pictures, and good ones.—*The Lost Will* (1s. 6d.) will please and help girls, and *The Reavers* (1s. 6d.) is a splendid story for boys. The Churchman's Pocket-Books, Almanacks, Calendars, and Offertory forms for 1909 were never better adapted to their purpose. The information most needed is given in compact form, and the books are very handy for desk or pocket.

Messrs. Bell & Sons' *Queen's Treasure Series* (2s. 6d. net) of stories which delighted the young readers of the last generation begins with two prime favourites: Mrs. Gaskell's *Cousin Phillis*, and Mrs. Ewing's *Six to Sixteen*. Mrs. Gaskell's exquisite tale appeals to those who are a little older than Mrs. Ewing's circle, but each is perfect in its own way. The small crown octavo volumes, with eight beautiful coloured plates, decorated covers, title-page, and end-papers, are very attractive.

We can bear witness that the two books have lost none of their old-world fascination.

Me and Nobbles, by Amy Le Feuvre (R.T.S., 2s.), is the quaintest thing imaginable. Bobby's bosom friend is a walking-stick with a wonderful little ivory head. Nobbles has very round eyes and a smiling mouth, two very big ears, and a little red cap on his head. The lonely little chap takes Nobbles to bed with him every night and tells him all his secrets. Some of Bobby's sayings are rather impossible, but he is a delightful being, who will win the hearts of all readers.

On Playing the Game, by Samuel Marriott (Culley, 2s. 6d.), is a set of forty letters addressed to young folk on Sports, Ethics, Literature, Faith, Religion, The Bible and the Church, Missions, and miscellaneous subjects. Mr. C. T. Studd's Introduction skilfully rings the changes on the title of the book, and the papers are crisp and practical. They were originally written for members of the Sunday school in Hull, of which Mr. Marriott had pastoral charge, and deal with many questions of conduct and with recreation and religion in a way that will arrest attention and supply welcome guidance in not a few perplexities. This is the kind of book for which many have been looking, and it is full of sympathy with all the work and pleasure of young people.

Benares, the Stronghold of Hinduism. By C. Phillips Cape. (Culley. 2s. 6d.) Mr. Cape has resided in Benares for some years. He has dwelt in the midst of the people whom he describes; he has been a keen observer of their customs, of their religious ceremonies, and of their daily life; he has visited their temples, and has studied their worship, not only as it is set forth in the Shastras, but as it is observed at the public shrines. Mr. Cape therefore writes of what he has seen as well as of what he has heard and read. Benares is the Mecca of Hindus, a more ancient city than Rome, and from time immemorial venerated by the faithful as the most sacred spot on earth. Of its two hundred thousand inhabitants twenty thousand are Brahmans, who minister in fifteen hundred temples and at innumerable shrines. It is a city wholly given to idolatry, where the deities are as numerous as the people. The writer describes the manner of life of some of the 'saints' of Hinduism, and gives one an idea of the

real inwardness of the Hindu religion. If the Methodist Church obeys the injunction to go where she is wanted most she will lose no time in doubling or trebling the number of her missionaries in this historic city. The Protestant Church has six missionaries at work in this stronghold. This is a book that ought to sell by the thousand during the next few months, while the great subject of India is being considered in the Missionary Study Classes all over the land. It ought also to find its way into the Guilds, Sunday-school libraries, and Juvenile Mission Associations. It is beautifully and abundantly illustrated, and the pictures ought to make it exceedingly popular for New Year rewards or Christmas presentations. The sidelight it casts on missionary work and methods will be helpful to all those who desire to have an intelligent knowledge of the problems that the Christian Church in India has to solve to-day. A brief description of the latest development of our mission work among the 'Doms' of Benares is given, and we are permitted to accompany the missionary and his helpers into the villages of the district outside the crowded streets of the city, and to behold specimens of the fruit they gather in most unpromising soil.

The Little Chinese Girl. By Nell Parsons. (Culley. 2s. 6d.) The illustrations in this book are capital, and will appeal as strongly to grown-ups as to juniors; all, coloured and black-and-white, are the work of the author. Those who have been in China will appreciate the truthful reality, and those who have not will enjoy both pictures and the story, because they illustrate each other so well. The book is one to buy, make the subject of the missionary talk, and then to pass on to a child, who will read, re-read, and thoroughly appreciate.

A Lineal Index to the Methodist Hymn-book, compiled by William Miles (Culley, 6s. 6d. net), will be eagerly welcomed. It has been prepared with extraordinary care, and involved the writing out the whole book, with its 24,836 lines, four times. Mr. Miles knows how much weary search such an Index will save preachers and class-leaders, and the neat volume will become a valued companion to the Methodist hymn-book. The man who has carried out this task so perfectly must be regarded as a public benefactor.

Animal Romances. By Graham Renshaw, M.B., F.Z.S. (Sherratt & Hughes. 7s. 6d. net.) Dr. Renshaw's three

volumes of Natural History Essays appealed chiefly to zoologists, but his latest work will be welcomed by all who wish to see the wild beasts of Africa in their native haunts. The photographs, taken from the author's own negatives, are a unique collection, and the descriptions are full of life and fire. It is a book that enlarges one's view of the marvels of nature and of animal life.

Twilight's Field: A Natural History for Children. By Nell Parsons. (Culley. 1s. net.) 'Charming' is the only word for this attractive little book. Both the coloured pictures and the letter-press are expressly designed for the little ones, and the least imaginative will delight in them. We are not sure that the natural history is in every case to be relied on. On page 9, for instance, it is stated that the nightingale is silent in the daytime and only sings at night, and he is made to tell the hare to go a little way off to hear him sing, 'as I feel shy when any one is too close.' But Philomel, as Cowper knew, sings 'all day long,' and, even when singing, he is far from shy. The book is charming, all the same, and fancy and imagination could not well be used to better purpose in the service of the bairns.

The Methodist Publishing House has altered the shape of its Kalendars and Pocket-books for 1909, which are less bulky and lighter than in former years. The needs of ministers are considered, and Mr. Culley has himself taken special pains to learn what changes would be acceptable to his constituency. The result is a pocket-book which may be pronounced perfect from a circuit minister's point of view. Those who do not need the schedules will find the Pocket Diary and Kalendar most convenient and complete. The Kalendar, which can be had separately from 2d. to 6d., is full of postal information, statistics, and other matter which will be of daily service to every Methodist.

The Class-Leader's Companion, 1909, edited by the Rev. James Feather (Culley, 1s. net), gives material for a weekly devotional study, and can be strongly recommended to all teachers and leaders. The choice of subjects is happy, and the little papers are worked out in a way that will stimulate thought and lead to profitable conversation.

On the Wings of a Wish, by E. Mabel F. Major (C.M.S., 1s. 6d.), is a pleasant introduction to some of the strange sights and scenes of India, with descriptions of its idols and idol-worship, and pages from a missionary's picture-book. It will open the eyes of young readers to the needs of India, and enlist their sympathy in missionary work. The pictures are very attractive, and the whole book is full of living interest.

Early Days for 1908 makes a volume of which children will never tire. It appeals to their affections, their fancy, their sense of wonder, and they will be wiser and better for all they read. There is a capital serial story, and every taste and want of children is met both by the papers and the delightful coloured pictures.

The Magic Nine-Pin, by Kathleen Harke (Culley, 1s. net), is a succession of wonders. The little boy and his dog sweep through air and sea on their astonishing travels, and there is an air of reality about it all that keeps one's interest on full stretch from beginning to end.

Thoughts worth Thinking in our Everyday Life. Compiled by H. R. Allenson. (Allenson. 1s. net.) A thought in prose or poetry for every day of the year, selected from many authors, and intended to encourage readers to meet difficulties in a cheerful spirit. We greatly like the selection and tone of the book.

The Murderess of the Unseen. By Dr. S. Hemphill, Rector of Birr. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1s. net.) Strong and plain words on the questions raised by the birth-rate.

Mr. Combridge of Hove has issued an enlarged and entirely revised edition of *Notes on Sussex Churches*, by Frederick Harrison, M.A. (1s. 6d. net.) It has thirty illustrations, some helpful notes on architecture, with special reference to Sussex churches, a glossary of terms, and descriptions of the churches, which range from a few lines to a couple of pages. An idea of its value may be gained from the account of Worth, which is 'the only Saxon cruciform church edifice in the country which is complete and untouched in plan. The chancel arch is the finest and largest Saxon one in England, twenty-two feet high, springing from large, square, plain imposts.' The book is just the right size to slip into a pocket, and every visitor and resident in Sussex ought to get it without delay.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (October).—One of the effects of closer intercourse between East and West is illustrated in the first article on *The Miscarriage of Life in the West*, by P. Ramanathan, H.M. Solicitor-General in Ceylon. The writer brings sweeping charges against Occidental civilization. 'It is folly to call this wide expansion of sensuousness and worldliness an age of progress.' The West has taught the East lessons concerning the means of living; if the East could but teach the West a few fundamental truths concerning the meaning of life! The articles *A Chinese Statesman's View of Religion* and *The Moslem Tradition of Jesus' Second Visit on Earth* also shed light on the views of the 'other half' of the religious world. Prof. W. James writes on *Hegel and his Method*, and his fellow-Pragmatist, F. C. Schiller, on *Infallibility and Toleration*. The most interesting articles come at the end of the number. It is amusing, if not edifying, to watch Dr. Cheyne's latest attempt to defend *The Jerahmeel Theory*, while Prof. M'Giffert propounds a new apologetic in *How may Christianity be Defended To-day?* Dr. Moffatt's address to theological students on *Bookless Religion* pleads that 'while knowledge of books and ignorance of the bookless world are accomplishments which together may produce a charming angel in the house, they will turn out an extremely ineffective angel of the Lord.' Mr. Page Hopps gibes quite ineffectively at *Evangelical Bargaining* in his criticism of Dr. Monro Gibson's book on Inspiration. Mr. Hopps seems very irate against 'moderate' biblical critics; is it because they show their sense in declining to accept either ultramontaniam or ultrarationalism?

Journal of Theological Studies (October).—Dr. Inge pays a brief but very appreciative tribute to the memory of Dr. Charles Bigg, who will be greatly missed at Oxford. The Dean of Westminster comments interestingly on Dr. Hort's fragment on the Apocalypse and Dr. Swete's complete exposition of it. On the whole Dr. Armitage Robinson favours the later date assigned to the book, and rejoices that 'at last' the Revelation has received adequate treatment as 'a living message from a Christian prophet to men who sorely needed it.' Mr. C. H. Turner begins a *Historical Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* by describing the growth of the idea of a Canon. Mr. Turner's great learning does not prevent him from seeing that what is most needed in this department of study is not a fresh classification and criticism of

documents, but the treatment of the whole as 'a branch of living history.' Shorter notes are appended on *The Star of Bethlehem*, *The Apostolic Groups*, and Dr. Burney's *View of the Religion of Israel*.

The Expositor (October-November).—In these two numbers Dr. Orr brings to a close his valuable papers on the *Resurrection of Christ*, lately republished in a separate volume. They will reassure and strengthen the faith of many. Sir W. Ramsay publishes in the October number an address delivered at the Congress of Historical Sciences held lately in Berlin, on *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Prof. G. Adam Smith begins a series of papers on *The Land of Edom*, which promises to exhibit all his well-known powers of geographical and historical illustration. Professor Eerdmans replies to Dr. Adam Smith on the subject of the nomadic habits of the early Hebrews. Prof. Mackintosh of Manchester writes upon *The Four Perplexing Chapters—2 Cor. x.-xiii.*, but we question whether he does much to enlighten the perplexed. An interesting recent discovery of a long Greek inscription found in Asia Minor is described in the November number by the discoverer, Mr. W. M. Calder of Oxford, Craven Fellow, and Sir W. Ramsay, whose work in the same field is so well known, appends an appreciative note concerning the Lycaonian bishop whose name has thus emerged into light. The sidelights on Church history cast by these inscriptions is of high value. 'X' of *The Church Quarterly Review* replies to Prof. Mayor's advocacy of the Helvidic hypothesis concerning the brethren of our Lord, but it can hardly be said that he has the best of the argument.

The Expository Times (October-November).—It is quite time that biblical critics in this country dealt more adequately with the 'Jesus-Paul Controversy' which is being carried on in Germany. Rev. W. Morgan gives a clear account of the views of Wrede and his school, and furnishes an excellent reply to them from an English point of view. He says: 'The cry should be, not away from Paul back to Christ, but through Paul back to Christ and God.' Dr. Tasker of Handsworth College reviews sympathetically Prof. Loofs's *Sermons on the Reformation Gospel*, and Dr. J. H. Moulton deals in a similar appreciative spirit with Deissmann's *Light from the East*. Mr. Worsley's paper on *The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptists* is timely, for, as he says: 'The Johannine problem is always with us.' He holds that the writer of the Fourth Gospel deliberately corrected the Second in many points, and added to it much of importance, claiming to have been an eye-witness without fear of contradiction. Prof. Kennedy's *Notes on Herod's Temple* and Dr. Sayce's article on *Recent Biblical Archaeology* are instructive.

Primitive Methodist Quarterly (October).—The first article, by E. C. Pike, gives a rapid and interesting survey of Christianity in its

relation to the Roman Empire during the second and third centuries. *The Tercentenary of Thomas Fuller* does such scant justice as six pages can afford to the memory of the 'prince of religious humorists.' Surely Fuller was more than that title implies? And has 'humour' at last given place to 'humor'? 'A great missionary explorer' was George Grenfell of the Congo, and well did he deserve Sir H. Johnston's volume written in his honour. An interesting account of his work is here given by Edwin W. Smith. Mr. H. Yooll reviews the Hartley Lecture for this year, delivered by Rev. G. Parkin on *The New Testament Portrait of Jesus*. A full and valuable article surveys with seriousness and some anxiety *The Present Position and Prospects of the Nonconformist Churches*. Questions are raised by the investigation which the writer cannot fully answer, and the wise man has yet to appear who can answer them all satisfactorily.

The **Dublin Review** for October-December reproduces a letter from Dr. Newman, in which, with great delicacy and beauty of feeling and expression, the cardinal excuses himself, partly on personal, partly on literary and theological, grounds, from writing a critique on Keble. It has also a sympathetic study of the life and character of Erasmus, based upon his *Epistles*. It regards the great reformer as a striking example of the conflict of opposites. His dislike of dullness was 'not the outcome of temperamental impatience, but a sign of a great principle which he held with developing fullness.' He belonged to that 'small transfigured band' who have believed, 'hoped hard' in the final compatibility of Christianity and culture, and who hold with Prof. Kraus that 'the world of the beautiful, of reason and science, of political and social order has its place appointed in the kingdom of God on earth.'

There is no article in the **Quarterly** for October either of striking excellence or of more than ordinary interest, unless indeed it be the one in reply to Prince Bülow, which is very quietly and effectively done, and in the light of subsequent developments in the Anglo-German controversy shows exceptional knowledge and prescience. But there are some good solid papers on *Agricultural Co-operation*, on *Vagrants, Beggars, and Tramps*, and on *Municipal Trading*, each of which contains information that is indispensable to students of social questions. Some *South African Impressions* are not unhopeful, the writer thinking that Boer and Briton will work together, even though they may not deeply love or trust each other.

Students of Aesthetics will find a very valuable article in the **Edinburgh Review** (October-December) on *Beauty and Expression*, based on recent German works, and chiefly on Theodor Lipps's great treatise, *Asthetik: Psychologie des Schönen*. For the general reader there is a rich repast in the shape of *New England Nature Studies*, a delightful and instructive paper on three great pioneers of nature-literature: Thoreau, Burroughs, and Whitman.

The **Nineteenth Century** for November contains a very eulogistic article by Mr. Frederic Harrison on *An Unknown Poet*, a little volume of whose verse in the shape of five-and-forty sonnets was written around the sickness and the death of the author's wife. The last of the sonnets is poignantly pathetic. On the volume as a whole Mr. Harrison makes the comment: 'It is sad—yes, it is bitterly sad—cruel in its fate; and yet how common, almost universal, in its bereavement! The world, I know, shrinks to-day from anything that is sad. With ostrich-like folly it turns its eyes away from what is painful. I know no worse sign of moral weakness and childish frivolity than its artificial shudder at all that is sad and tragic—"By pain alone is wisdom perfected."'

The articles in the **New Quarterly** (October–December) on *Conciliatory Socialism* should interest many of our readers. Mr. G. A. Paley opens the discussion, and Mr. H. G. Wells replies, not only to him, but to Mr. Mallock. The error Mr. Mallock makes, says Mr. Wells, is 'in regarding Socialism as a new servile insurrection, and arguing as if the sole question at issue was whether the proportional share of the worker's reward for labour as distinguished from the share as accorded for initiative, in the collective property, could be and should be augmented or not.' This, thinks Mr. Wells, is an entirely secondary matter. 'The real issue between Socialism and anti-Socialism is between discipline and indiscipline among the officers and leaders, between an army working on a common plan and each little officer operating according to his own sweet will. It is the difference between science and casual information, between design and rule of thumb.'

For students of Evolution there are two valuable articles in the November **Contemporary**; one on *Darwinism* versus *Wallaceism*, by Prof. Hubrecht, and the other on *The Transmission of Acquired Characters: A Rejoinder*, by Prof. Hartog. And for admirers of our great humourist there is an interesting paper by Mr. George Barlow on *The Genius of Dickens*. The gem of the number is Mr. Undy's paper on *Dante's Intuition of the Infinite*, based upon the *Vita Nuova* and the later cantos of the *Paradiso*.

In a remarkable article in **The International** for October, Sakunoshin Motoda, of Kyoto, discusses *The Future Prospects of Japanese Christianity*, and reaches some very hopeful conclusions. The Japanese mind, he says, is 'religious rather than philosophical, constructive rather than critical, practical rather than contemplative.' He thinks that Japan will produce pious and truly religious men in large numbers, but few theologians. 'In a word, Japan will adopt all the institutions conducive to human welfare according to Christian ideas and principles; the bulk of the people will come to believe in Jesus Christ, and the form of Christianity they adopt will not lie buried in the jumble of theological theories and formulae, but will stand prominently as a vital social force leading the souls of men into the path of righteousness.'

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (October).—Prof. Carl Clement of Bonn, in the first article of this number demolishes the idea, fashionable in some quarters, that the Fourth Gospel depends upon pagan traditions. He holds that recent assertions of its dependence on foreign influences are for the most part quite unjustified, and that where a measure of such influence is traceable it relates to the form, not the contents, of the Gospel. The Logos-conception of the prologue is not really taken from Philo. Prof. F. Thilly in answering the question: 'Can Christianity ally itself with monistic ethics?' deals a trenchant blow against 'The New Theology,' though the tone of the article is marked by moderation and candour. Prof. Fenn, of Cambridge, Mass., and President Mackenzie, of Hartford, return very different answers to the question: 'What is the logical relation between the resurrection of Jesus and the doctrine of immortality?' The former writer does not believe in the resurrection of Jesus, but does believe in immortality, and he finds no connexion of importance between the two. Dr. Mackenzie's paper, which is—we may say without prejudice—by far the abler of the two, argues that 'wherever faith in the resurrection of Christ has disappeared, the idealistic arguments for immortality have begun at once to lose their power. The nerve of their life has been cut.' That is the fact, whatever be the explanation. The whole number is full of interest.

The Methodist Review (New York, September-October).—An appreciative account of the late Bishop Fitzgerald, with a portrait, opens this number. The style of the notice hardly suits English taste, but the writer brings out the fine points of a fine character, and ranks Fitzgerald with 'the great constructive jurists of Methodism—Soule, Harris, and Mervill.' Dr. Daniel Steele writes on *The Unspoken Precepts of Christ*, President Welch on *The Church and Social Service*—what a phenomenon to-day is a religious magazine without an article on this subject! Another article on *Why Korea is turning to Christ* gives an interesting account of a remarkable religious movement in that country. H. A. Reed takes up doubtful ground when, in a paper on *Certitude in Preaching*, he says: 'The supreme authority in religion is the Holy Spirit, and His seat is in each human soul.'

The Methodist Review (Nashville, October).—Prof. Gross Alexander has gathered a goodly array of writers for this number. One article is a document of great interest, written by Bishop Soule in 1850, on the burning question of slavery, but lost sight of till lately, when it was unearthed from a Texas newspaper. Bishop Hendrix writes, after the lapse of a century, on the *General Conference of 1808*, and Bishop Galloway on *Jefferson Davis; a Judicial Estimate*. Other articles are by E. G. Wilbur on *Dr. James Martineau*, and by H. M. Hamill on *An Interior View of Japanese Methodism*. The latter is full of interest. The development during the next decade of this

promising infant Church will be watched with some anxiety, but also with eager hope and a confident expectation of success.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville, October).—This ably conducted Baptist periodical opens this number with a survey of Baptist progress and prospects by Dr. Gambrell of Texas. President Mullins discusses the new philosophic movement known sometimes as Pragmatism, sometimes as Personalism. He concludes that 'Christ is the true answer to all that is best in Pragmatism, and a candid consideration of what Christianity is in its essential nature would shed a great deal of light on the places which Pragmatism leaves dark.' Dr. J. Hunt Cooke, an English Baptist minister, asks: 'Did our Lord use the Lord's Prayer?' and shows the deep doctrinal significance of the negative answer which must be given to the question. Dr. Dargan continues his study of homiletical theory. Dr. Jarvell in the last article of this number pronounces, contrary to the prevailing Calvinistic view, that Rom. vii. 7-25 describes the experience not of a saint, but of a convinced sinner. He is almost certainly right, and nothing but a low standard of Christian privilege can result from the interpretation which finds in this paragraph an account of normal Christian life.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—In the October number, the editor, Dr. G. F. Wright, writes on *The Alleged Collapse of the New England Theology*. As a 'modified form of Calvinism' he is of opinion that in reality it does not differ much from 'the modified Arminianism' of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The five great truths it makes prominent are: the authority of the Bible, the greatness of man as a moral agent, the depth of man's depravity, the exalted nature of Christ, and the sublimity of the love of God as shown in the forgiveness of sin through the atoning work of Christ. Dr. Wright replies effectively to those who say that it is derogatory to divine wisdom to suppose that remedial agencies were necessary for the perfection of the system which God has created. He rightly reminds us that 'we cannot say that it is possible to serve all the interests of a race, so highly endowed as man is, without remedial agencies coming in to prevent irreparable loss when this highly endowed race goes astray.' Many puzzling problems find their solution when we remember that 'the incarnation, the suffering and the death of Christ were not afterthoughts, but were provided for at the beginning, and contemplated through all the previous ages of historical development.'

Harvard Theological Review.—This new American quarterly completed its first year last October. Its publication is due to a bequest for 'the maintenance of an undenominational theological review,' and its editors are Profs. G. F. Moore, W. W. Fenn, and J. H. Ropes of the Harvard Divinity School. The first article, by Prof. F. G. Peabody, entitled *The Call to Theology*, is an opportune and, in our judgement, an amply justified prophecy that 'an era of promise for

theology seems to be at hand.' The call to theology is to interpret the nature of God and of man to 'the mind of the modern world.' In response to this call this new Review seems well fitted to render admirable service. Its aim is well expressed by Prof. W. Adams Brown, who defines the task of the theology of the future as being 'to present the Christ whom all Christians own as Lord and whom the earlier Protestants recognized as their individual Saviour by his direct appeal to each man's heart and conscience—to present this living, spiritual Christ in His larger social relations as the inspiration and the goal of progress.' In future we hope to direct attention to the most important articles in a review which promises to be of exceptional interest to progressive thinkers. The following reference to Wesley is quoted from an able article on *Bishop Butler and Cardinal Newman on Religious Certitude*, by Prof. George E. Horr, of the Newton Theological Institution: 'A study of the Evangelical theology as represented by Romaine, Simeon, and Scott will be apt to leave the impression that the party had the zeal and devotion of the Wesleys, but that its theological position had not been thought through. . . . It is useless to attempt to describe the theology of the Evangelical party in the English Church. It was neither Calvinist nor Arminian. It took something of Wesley's doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit, but fitfully and partially. Its attitude towards the question of certitude was that of Butler. The main reason for believing in the Christian revelation was that the balance of probability was in its favour.'

FOREIGN.

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for November 1 there is one of a series of studies by M. Charles Benoist on *The Crisis in the Modern State* that has been appearing in this great cosmopolitan Review since 1900. The writer's aim is by a number of explanations and definitions to make clear the twofold movement, political and social, by which the modern state is being transformed. He is now dealing with the Organization of Labour. The State has organized property, why should it not organize labour? It has both the power and the right to do so, and M. Benoist, who believes in evolution rather than revolution, urges upon statesmen the duty of opposing 'social politics' to Socialism. The articles are full of illumination and guidance, and may be commended to the members of the W.M.U.S.S.

Theologische Rundschau.—In the October number one of the editors, Dr. Bousset, reviews Wendland's important work, entitled, *Hellenistic Culture in its Relation to Judaism and Christianity*. The chapter on 'Hellenism and Christianity' receives special praise. 'The preaching of Christ has no relation to Hellenism' is the striking sentence with which it begins. The soil in which Christ's teaching is rooted is contemporary Palestinian Judaism. In Hellenism tendencies of thought characteristic of the age appeared, and some of these tendencies also manifested themselves in Christianity.

But all that can be positively asserted is a general parallelism, not dependence. It was as the result of a twofold process that Christianity became a universal religion, for it not only assimilated ideas that were congenial, but also rejected those that were uncongenial. Of the early Apologists Wendland writes more sympathetically than Geffcken, whose severe judgement is due to his testing them by an absolute standard and not in relation to the culture of their own times. They inaugurated a movement which led to the formation of a Christian view of the world—a Christian philosophy which triumphed over Hellenism by incorporating its noblest conceptions. Concerning the significance of *Gnosis* in the history of Christianity, Wendland regards Gnosticism as one phase of a tendency which had already begun in Oriental religions. 'To this period the saying applies: *ex oriente lux*. . . . Before its Hellenization the teaching of Jesus had been Orientalized, and in this connexion the work of St. Paul is of decisive significance.' Dr. Bousset is not always in absolute accord with Wendland, and certain omissions are noted. But the work, as a whole, is commended as a valuable contribution to the history of religion in the epoch-making period between the age of Alexander the Great and the triumph of Christianity over Gnosticism.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—Attention may here be called to an American work which receives high commendation from Dr. Bousset in Number 23. *The Ancestry of our English Bible* gives an account of the Bible versions, texts, and manuscripts, and is published at Philadelphia by the Sunday-school Times Company (6s.). It contains popular lectures delivered to Sunday-school teachers, and presents, 'in an exceptionally thorough way,' a complete history of the text of the Old Testament and of the New, with especial regard to the history of the English Bible. A book deserves to be known in England of which Dr. Bousset can say: 'It is a model of popular presentation.'

In the same number Dr. Alfred Zillesen gives an interesting account of a recent work on *Apologetics*, by Pfarrer Wilhelm Ernst. The primary task of the Christian apologist at the present day is not so much to defend religion in general or particular dogmas, but to vindicate the Christian view of the world, and above all so to state the Christian doctrine of God as to make clear His transcendence and His personality. The author regrets the tendency to separate science and religion, but he deprecates the identification of theology and metaphysics. The Christian Apologetic must show, on the one hand, that Deism has no religious value and is illogical, and on the other hand, that Pantheism is insufficient from the religious point of view and fails to account for the facts of life. Such an Apologetic may not directly convert, but it can remove stumbling-blocks from the mind of the doubter, and reveal the weakness of the naturalistic position. It should also emphasize those elements in the rational view of the world which point towards the Christian solution of the problems of the universe.

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THE ASHES OF ANCIENT BATTLES

The British and French in the Peninsula

*A History of the Peninsular War. Vol. III. By PROF.
OMAN. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press.)*

IN Lisbon, on September 15 last, the foundation-stone of a great monument to commemorate the centenary of the escape of Portugal from the grasp of Napoleon was laid, and throughout the whole country the day was observed as a holiday. On August 30, 1808, the famous Convention of Cintra was signed, and a fortnight afterwards Junot and his army, with all their guns and baggage—the latter consisting chiefly of plunder—sailed from Lisbon in British transports for France. Behind the Convention of Cintra—and its explanation—was the short, stern, bloody fight of Vimiero, where for the first time Wellington met, and defeated, a French army. That battle was the opening note in the stormy orchestra of the Peninsular War: and it was the sharp logic of British bayonets at Vimiero which compelled Junot to accept the terms of the Convention. Public opinion in Great Britain itself, however, was furious with a treaty which allowed a beaten French general with his army loaded with plunder to sail back to France, in British transports, and under the convoy of British men-of-war; and

a court of inquiry questioned, meditated, and debated for six weeks over the terms of the Convention. Nobody was hanged or shot as the result of the proceedings of that court, but the person who owed to it the greatest debt of gratitude was Junot himself. 'I was going,' says Napoleon, 'to send Junot before a council of war, when, fortunately, the English tried their generals, and so saved me the pain of punishing an old friend.'

But Portugal does well to commemorate by a monument of long-enduring granite the Convention of Cintra. It saved her national existence. By the secret clauses of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon had arranged for the partition of the country, and Portugal would have disappeared from the list of nations. It was only rescued from extinction by the stroke of Wellington at Vimiero.

Meanwhile, in the realm of literature another memorial of the Peninsular War, on a huge scale, is being constructed by Professor Oman. The third volume of his *History of that war* has just been published, and carries the narrative to the point where Massena, even his stubborn will broken by hunger and hardship, began to fall back from the lines of Torres Vedras. That event was, no doubt, the turning-point in the Peninsular War. The slow, reluctant retreat of Massena's wasted battalions marked the beginning of an ebb in the red tide of war which practically never ceased until the last of the French armies was driven, wrecked and defeated, through the wild defiles of the Pyrenees. But if it takes three huge volumes, each of some 600 pages, to tell the story of the war from Vimiero to Santarem—an interval of less than three years, marked by no great sieges, and only three serious battles—Corunna, Talavera, and Busaco—how many volumes will be required to tell the story from Santarem to Bidassoa, a stretch of another three years, congested with such events as the sieges of Badajos, Ciudad Rodrigo, and San Sebastian, and filled with the thunders of battles like Fuentes d'Onore, Salamanca, Vittoria, &c.!

Professor Oman's history has some conspicuous merits. It is both ampler, and more accurate in detail, than any previous account of the struggle in the Peninsula. The military archives of Madrid and Paris, as well as of the Record Office in London, have been at Professor Oman's service, and he plainly has much of the plodding industry, the delight in dates and numbers, and in minute geographical accuracy of Carlyle's *Dryasdust*. But Professor Oman's work has also its visible defects. It is hardly technical enough to be of value to the professional soldier, and its style is not sufficiently easy and translucent to make it popular with the general reader. Professor Oman is first and last an Oxford man, and his prose smacks of the common-room; it lacks the clearness and the glow the man in the street loves. What can the puzzled reader think when he is told that Napoleon had fallen into an 'autolatrious' mood, and that he had 'a scheme for enfeoffing all the realms of the Continent'? What defect in the national habit or resources, again, will the average reader imagine is concealed under the cryptic statement that 'in poliiorcetics the enemy was our superior'?

Professor Oman, no doubt, has a more philosophic temper than Napier, and is quite untouched by those passionate, and often unreasonable, prepossessions and hatreds which cloud Napier's fine vision, and sometimes make untrustworthy his magnificent history. Professor Oman recalls with a certain sly relish the story told by Napier himself that, when he heard of Napoleon's death at St. Helena, he 'flung himself on his sofa and wept for three hours.' Professor Oman, it is certain, would not have shed a tear over the dust of all the heroes recorded in human history; and his dry-eyed mood, no doubt, carries with it a certain clarity of vision. But the ardent and passionate fibre in Napier helps to explain the flame of eloquence which burns in his prose and makes it immortal. Only a man who himself feels profoundly can stir profound feeling in others. It needed a soldier whose blood had been shaken with all the stormy pulses of actual

battle to write the story of the charge of the Fusiliers at Albuera, or describe how the stormers fought and died on the great breach of Badajos.

Professor Oman is obstinately just; and all English historians have hitherto, he holds, been persistently unfair in their account of the part taken by the Spaniards themselves in the long struggle for the deliverance of their country from the iron clutch of Napoleon. So, to atone for that injustice, Professor Oman congests his pages, and distends his volumes, by minutely accurate accounts of the distracted performances of Spanish juntas, and the marches and defeats of Spanish armies. But the story thus offered is of unforgivable dryness; and, if assessed by its value as a contribution to the history of the actual deliverance of Spain from the French, is almost irrelevant.

Napier's method at this point is wiser than that of Professor Oman. It is natural, of course, to suspect his judgement, and even sometimes his accuracy, where Spanish generals are concerned; for Napier was a soldier by force of natural genius, and a gentleman by instinct and training; and in both characters the performances of the Spaniards were to him hateful. The strategy of Spanish generals filled him with scorn, the cruelty and disorder of Spanish guerillas shocked both his intellect and his conscience. The Spaniards, he says, 'developed more cruelty than courage, more violence than intrepidity, more personal hatred than enthusiasm.' From the point of view of sound history, who can doubt that Professor Oman is wrong and Napier is right? Napier's summary of the contribution made by the Spanish to their own deliverance is rhetorical in form, but is roughly accurate in fact. 'Manifestoes, decrees, boasts—like a cloud of canvas covering a rotten hull—made a gallant appearance, but real strength and firmness could nowhere be found.'

It would be absurd, of course, to deny that Spain did some considerable things on her own account in the war. At Baylen a French general and an army of 23,000 men were compelled to surrender. Dupont's soldiers, it is true,

were mere conscripts; his divisions were scattered, and were encumbered almost to the point of helplessness with booty. But the incident took place on July 19, 1808, only a month after Joseph had been crowned as King of Spain in Madrid; and the effect of it on the prestige of France, and on the plans of Napoleon, was deadly. The Spaniards, again, sustained with fierce and obstinate courage two remarkable sieges, those of Saragossa and Gerona. Their guerilla warfare, too, was a steady drain on French resources. As Lanfrey describes it: 'They captured our convoys, stopped our couriers, pillaged our dépôts, harassed our detachments, killed our wounded and our stragglers, in some cases disabled one-third of our effective soldiers before they reached their destination. In a word, they did more harm than all the Spanish armies united.' But the guerilla warfare would have burnt itself out in time. It was a mere skin irritation; a perpetual exasperation, no doubt, but not a mortal disease.

In the ashes of ancient battles no fire commonly stirs, but the appearance of a history of the Peninsular War on such a scale as that by Professor Oman is a striking proof of the enduring interest felt in that struggle. In no other war his race has ever waged does the average Englishman feel an interest at once so keen, so enduring, and so complacent; and it is easy to see why this is the case.

The war in the Peninsula, for one thing, has a curious and almost epical completeness about it. It is a story symmetrical and clear-cut as a drama by Aeschylus. It is set on an adequate stage, and against a background of earth-shaking events. The figures in it are worthy of the scale of the drama. Most wars, when set in the dry light of history, are found to be either ignoble in their origin, or blundering in their conduct, or inadequate in their results. But the war in the Peninsula, when set in the perspective of a century, is still seen to be undertaken for a sufficient cause, waged with adequate energy, and crowned with the achievement of sufficient results.

The typical Englishman has no real delight in warfare as a business. War disquiets his conscience by its slaughter and cruelty, and it affronts his common sense by its enormous waste. He is seldom quite satisfied as to the way the quarrel was either begun, or managed, or ended. But there is scanty reason for any such doubts as to the war in the Peninsula.

Its cause was sufficient. Napoleon had reached that stage in his career when he was an embodied menace to the peace of the world. 'I am not,' he said, 'the heir of Louis XIV. I am the heir of Charlemagne.' He was possessed by the idea of making himself the master of Europe; a monarch, to quote Professor Oman, 'whose writ should run alike at Paris and at Mainz, at Milan and at Hamburg, at Rome and at Barcelona'—to say nothing of London! He had overrun Italy, and overthrown in turn Austria, Prussia—the Prussia of Frederick the Great!—and Russia.

It is true that his power, like that of the mediaeval witch, ceased where it touched running water; for Trafalgar had been fought, and Great Britain was mistress of the sea. But since he could not reach England by the sword, Napoleon invented the Continental system, under which all the ports of the civilized world were to be shut against British trade, and Great Britain itself was to be starved into submission. Napoleon justified the seizure of Spain and of Portugal by the argument that it was necessary to the completion of the Continental system; but this was only a pretext. Spain was his helpless ally; its fleets, its armies, its treasury, were under his control. Portugal, although the ancient ally of England, had consented to shut its ports against the British flag, and to buy peace with a big subsidy. But Napoleon was determined to make both Spain and Portugal French provinces; and there is nothing in the history of diplomacy more deliberately treacherous than the negotiations, and the treaties, by which Napoleon gained possession of Spain and put a Bonaparte on its throne. The figures in the Spanish court

—the imbecile king, the shameless wife, the cowardly heir apparent, the Prime Minister—at once the paramour of the Queen and the evil genius of Spain—these may well be dismissed to the forgetfulness of contempt. But there remained the Spanish nation, 11,000,000 people, ignorant, divided, superstitious, but still a nation; a nation with an heroic history and capable of an heroic pride. How could the freedom of such a nation be made a matter of barter betwixt a senile King like Charles IV, and the ruthless and hungry ambition of Napoleon?

The Spanish nation broke into revolt—the first truly national rising against the spell of Napoleonic power. The rising in Spain, it is true, resembled nothing so much as a series of unrelated explosions, for each province acted as though it were itself the whole of Spain, and proclaimed war, and conducted it, on its own account. But still it was the genuine rising of a people. Great Britain was at that moment at war with Spain; British fleets were blockading Spanish ports, an expedition was on the point of sailing for the purpose of capturing Spanish colonies. But with a sure and wise instinct the revolting Spaniards made their appeal to the English people. It was the call of a nation preparing to fight for its freedom against Napoleon, addressed to the one free Power in Europe which still resisted the domination of Napoleon. And the British people, tired of doing all their land fighting by proxy, and of paying vast sums into the treasuries of foreign courts, with ignoble results, gladly linked themselves in comradeship with a people prepared, it was believed, to fight and suffer for its own existence. And when Spain became the field of battle, and the deliverance of Spain the reward of victory, for the first time the feeling of the masses in England came into complete agreement with the policy of English statesmanship.

Spain, it is to be noted, offered an ideal field of battle. It is, roughly, a huge square 500 miles on each face, washed on three sides by the sea, and isolated from the Continent generally by the grim barrier of the Pyrenees,

a mountain wall which stretches from San Sebastian, on the one sea, to Rosas on the other. This field suited both British policy and the British temper. It was a field on which Great Britain could fight its separate battle without being lost in the tangle of Continental armies; and the mastery of the sea gave England control of the entire coast on three fronts.

The geography of Spain, again, exactly suited Spanish methods of war. Professor Oman gives an admirable study of the military geography of the Peninsula. Spain, he says, 'resembles nothing so much as an inverted soup-plate.' It is a rough, high, central plateau surrounded by a flat rim; but the central plateau is corrugated—broken everywhere into isolated strips—by parallel hill ranges. Madrid is planted in the centre of the plateau, but it is a capital of an entirely artificial kind. It has no natural or geographical relationship with the rest of Spain, and it has every sort of natural disadvantage. It has been described as possessing 'the soil of the Sahara, the sun of Calcutta, the wind of Edinburgh, and the cold of the North Pole.' It may be added that Spain a hundred years ago was—and, indeed, still is—an almost roadless land; its rivers, except for a few miles from their mouths, are incapable of navigation.

The whole country was thus broken up into geographical areas that were almost completely isolated from each other. It had no natural capital. What roads existed ran, not along the valleys, but at right angles to them, and so offered a succession of defensible passes. The rivers were not helps to communication, but interruptions of it. It would be difficult to find a patch of the earth's surface worse provided with means of transit, or richer in positions of defence. It was a land where, according to an ancient proverb, large armies starve and small armies get beaten. Here, then, was a field planned, as if by Nature herself, for an inextinguishable guerilla warfare!

The geographical relation of Spain to France, again, is significant. A force issuing from the Pyrenees could

strike at the communications of French armies operating in Italy, Austria, or Prussia. And if the Peninsula, as a whole, is capable of being turned into a fortress, with the Pyrenees for its outer wall, against France, Portugal—a strip of coast 100 miles wide along the Atlantic seaboard—the western face of the great square of the Peninsula—might itself be described as the citadel of the fortress. It was this which made Wellington declare at the beginning of the war that, in any event, it would be possible to hold Portugal against all the forces of France.

The cause of the Peninsular War was good, the field was near and suitable; and fortune gave to England as its captain in this great conflict a great soldier. Up to this time, it must be remembered, the military reputation of Great Britain had sunk to the lowest ebb. On the sea her strength was predominant. Her sea-captains had won great victories; her flag flew almost unchallenged in all waters. It is nothing less than marvellous that a nation so feared in one realm should be so completely despised in another. Yet British soldiership had, as a matter of fact, fallen into contempt; and there was some justification for the contempt. The military record of Great Britain was made up of wasted expeditions, commanded by incapable generals—mere planless adventures that are yet the derisions of history. And the military reputation of Great Britain suffered the penalty of such performances. 'It became,' says Captain Lewis Butler, in his work, *Wellington's Operations in the Peninsula*, 'a kind of axiom that the Hessian and every other species of the riff-raff of Germany was superior to the Englishman in every soldier-like quality.' 'The British troops,' says Napier, 'were absurdly underrated in foreign countries and despised in their own. . . . The soldier was stigmatized as stupid, the officer ridiculed, and a British army coping with a French one for a single campaign was considered a chimera.'

Mankind, in a word, had almost ceased to take British soldiership seriously. The sea was the Englishman's

natural field. On the sea he was terrible. There was no arguing against St. Vincent, the Nile, and Trafalgar! But on land his performances were contemptible. It is true that in Egypt, under Abercrombie and Hutchison, a British army had achieved remarkable results. It is true, again, that at Maida, under Stuart, a slender line of British infantry had shattered into fragments solid French battalions. But the human memory is short. Egypt was looked upon as an accident, Maida was only a splutter of musketry fire in the Calabrian hills. The warlike genius of Napoleon was oppressing the imagination of the world; the halo of great victories—of Ulm, of Austerlitz, of Jena—played about French bayonets; and the notion that a British general, commanding British troops, could meet on equal terms a French army led by French generals was regarded as absurd. What else than contempt, indeed, did the muddled, petty, meaningless expeditions, wasted on a dozen shores, which represented the military performances of Great Britain, deserve?

But on the stage of the Peninsula the figure of Wellington emerges almost at once, one of the great soldiers of all history. It is true that the fight in the Peninsula began with a characteristic bit of stupidity. In the first battle fought, and during its very course, the unfortunate British army underwent three changes of command within twenty-four hours. Wellington began the fight at Vimiero; Sir Harry Burrard took command when it was nearly over; and Sir Hugh Dalrymple appeared on the scene the next morning and displaced Sir Harry Burrard. But smaller figures quickly disappeared, and Wellington's intellect—which, if it had the coldness of ice, had also its clarity—was left to shape the course of the campaigns of six years.

Wellington may be pronounced the one absolutely satisfactory soldier, and captain of soldiers, the British race has produced. He had no touch, it is true, of Nelson's fiery and emotional genius. He would not have put the telescope to his blind eye at Copenhagen; he never

regarded his generals, as Nelson looked on his captains, as 'a band of brothers'; and, dying, Wellington would have asked no Hardy in epaulettes to 'kiss him.' But he had a quality of sustained purpose, an iron ruthlessness of will, a mastery of tactics, and a vision for the whole landscape of war, which Nelson hardly possessed. The only other soldier in British history to be compared in genius to Wellington is Marlborough; but in loyalty, in singleness of purpose, in all the qualities of character, Wellington stands far above Marlborough.

Moore is the one soldier who, if Wellington had not lived, might have played a part almost as great as his in the Peninsula. In the power of stamping his personality on the individual soldier, on the character of a regiment, or of a division, Moore was indeed Wellington's superior. Moore's true monument is the famous Light Division—a type of soldiership almost as separate, and as famous, as Caesar's Tenth Legion or Cromwell's Ironsides. At the passage of the Coa, when even Craufurd lost his head—or was in a mood of mischief—it was the matchless discipline which Moore taught the regiments of the Light Division which saved the day. 'A phantom from Corunna,' to quote Napier, 'saved them.' But it may be doubted whether Moore, burdened with all Wellington's difficulties, political and military, could have fought Wellington's six campaigns. It is certain he would never have carried Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos with the fierce rush Wellington taught his stormers.

Wellington, no doubt, had his limitations, even as a general. He was an 'infantry' general, and never attempted the use either of guns or of cavalry on the scale, and with the effectiveness, of Napoleon. It is usual to say that he lacked Napoleon's fiery and relentless energy in the pursuit of a beaten army; and that perhaps is true. Wellington certainly lacked personal sympathy with his own soldiers and officers, and so had nothing of the magic power over their imagination which other great captains have possessed. But it must be remembered that Welling-

ton had to work with some very poor material, both among his officers and the men in the ranks. His correspondence is full of complaints, sometimes against officers who were forced on him, and more frequently against officers who were clamouring for permission to return home on private business. In a letter to the Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, Wellington observes: 'I have received your letter announcing the appointment of — and — to this army. The first I have generally understood to be a madman; I believe it is your opinion that the second is not very wise; the third will, I believe, be a useful man. . . . There are some in this army whom it is disreputable and quite unsafe to keep. . . . Really, when I reflect upon the characters and attainments of some of the general officers of this army, and consider that these are the persons on whom I am to rely to lead columns against the French generals, and who are to carry my instructions into execution, I tremble; and, as Lord Chesterfield said of the generals of his day, "I only hope that when the enemy reads the list of their names he trembles as I do."' Of general officers who were demanding leave to go to England on private business he complains bitterly and repeatedly; more than once half his divisional generals were absent. In January 1811, he writes: 'At this moment we have seven general officers gone, or going home; and, excepting myself, there is not one in the country who came out with the army, except General Alexander Campbell, who was all last winter in England.'

The comparative youth of the leading figures in the Peninsular War is remarkable. Youth might be expected in armies which were thrown up by a revolution; and it is not strange to find, say, Marmont a Marshal at thirty-five, and Soult commanding all the French forces in Spain at forty-five. But Wellington was only thirty-nine when he began his career in Spain. Cotton commanded the whole of the cavalry at thirty-seven; Fane and Pakenham were only thirty-five, and Napier (as Major) led the 43rd at Salamanca when he was only twenty-six.

Of his private soldiers Wellington more than once spoke in words that can hardly be forgiven, and which it is unnecessary to repeat. But the British soldier of the Peninsula, with all his splendid fighting gifts, had some tragical vices. We have only to remember the scenes which followed the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, of Badajos, of San Sebastian, to realize this. That discipline in the British army went to pieces during every retreat is proved by the experiences of both Moore and Wellington. Neither the magic of Moore's influence nor the energy of Wellington's iron will sufficed to maintain discipline when the British battalions were required to march with their backs turned on the enemy. The British private excels in the line of battle; but his character hardly survives the strain of long-continued retreat.

Victory, indeed, tried British discipline almost as much as retreat itself. After the magnificent day of Vittoria, Wellington writes to Lord Bathurst that his army 'was in the highest order, and, up to the day of battle, nothing could get on better; but victory,' he adds, 'has, as usual, annihilated all good order and discipline. The soldiers of the army have got among them about a million sterling of money. The night of the battle was passed by the soldiers in looking for plunder; the consequence was that they were incapable of marching in pursuit of the enemy. . . . I am convinced that we have now out of the ranks double the amount of our loss in the battle.' In the British soldier of Wellington's day there was a curious strain of childishness, as is proved by the contagion of unmeaning desertions which more than once swept through the ranks of the army. There were many desertions, for example, from the lines at Torres Vedras into Massena's starving battalions; there were many desertions, again—Wellington reports no less than 1,800—from the camps of the victorious British in the Pyrenees to Soult's oft-defeated conscripts.

And yet finer infantry in the actual front of battle than some, at least, of Wellington's regiments in the Peninsula never handled a musket. Where in the whole history of

war can be found examples of such daring—of valour at once stubborn and fierce—as on the hill at Talavera, in the mists and smoke of Albuera, or on the breaches of Badajos and San Sebastian? It is Foy, a Frenchman, who had often faced the volleys of an English line of battle, who records that 'the infantry is the best part of the British army. It is the "*robur peditum*," the expression applied by the Romans to the *triarii* of their legions.'

Wellington in the Peninsula made use of a quite new form of battle, and one which exactly suited the British temper. The Continental generals delighted in display. As a preparation for battle, horse, foot, and artillery were spread out in many-coloured parallelograms, all visible to the last man, on the slope of a range of hills, or on some vast plain. Who does not remember the magnificent and theatrical display of his army, as many-tinted as a rainbow, which Napoleon offered to the gaze of the unmoved British on the morning of Waterloo? But Wellington's plan was to conceal his strength. His brigades were hidden behind a hill crest, in a dip of the ground, or under the screen of the houses and hedges of a village. All the enemy saw was a fringe of skirmishers, a few scattered batteries of guns. But when the skirmishers were driven in, and the breathless French battalions had just reached, and perhaps imagined they had carried, the hostile position, then the long red line, steady and silent, suddenly broke into sight. In a moment it was edged with flame, and terrible with shattering volleys. 'At the end of the war,' says Professor Oman, 'the French marshals grew very chary of attacking any position where Wellington showed fight; for they never could tell whether they were opposed by a mere rearguard or by a whole army skilfully concealed.'

It is customary to say, again, that the secret of Wellington's success lay in the fact that while the French attacked in column he met them in line, and the far-stretching front of fire which broke from the line crushed the narrow front of the attacking columns. But this is hardly a sufficient account of the differences of method betwixt the two

armies; nor did Wellington invent the line as an answer to the attack of the column. It was used in Prussian tactics in the wars of Frederick. The French onfall in columns of companies, with a front of forty—or at most of eighty—men, with a depth of nine—or of eighteen—was really preceded by an attack in line, in the shape of a vast far-stretching spray of tirailleurs; and the French excelled in this skirmishing attack. They ran forward with great daring, and tormented, almost to the point of disorganization, the battalions of the enemy. Then the onfall of the solid columns usually proved irresistible.

Now Wellington met this preliminary attack of the French tirailleurs with an answering line of light infantry; and the fighting betwixt these two irregular lines was often fierce and bloody. At Barossa, for example, the covering screen of light troops lost fourteen out of twenty officers, and more than half its rank and file, and all this before the column and the line closed on each other. Wellington's plan was to hold off the French tirailleurs with his light infantry till the French columns were coming up to the charge. Then the British skirmishers ran back through the intervals of the regiments, and the slender red line and the deep and massive columns of the French met in the shock of the charge. And always the line crushed the column. As Professor Oman puts it, '800 men in the two-deep line which Wellington loved, could all use their muskets, and thus pour 800 bullets per volley into a French battalion of the same strength, which, from its narrow front, could only return at most 160.' The men in the centre of the French column invariably fired in the air. If the column tried to deploy, as each company struggled out from the mass, it was shattered by musketry fire. Foy himself, in his private journal, records that 'for a set battle of equal numbers on a limited front, the English infantry could always beat the French. I keep this opinion,' he adds, 'to myself; I have never divulged it.'

It must be added that the British had a better weapon than the French, and knew better how to use it. The old

Brown Bess carried spherical bullets, twelve to the pound. It was deadly within a range of 100 yards, and the coolness of the men enabled them to use it with destructive effect. The French musket was a smaller bore, carrying bullets weighing seventeen to the pound. It is easy to understand how the better musket, the heavier bullet, and the wider front of fire, completely overmastered the French columns.

It is not easy to put into arithmetic the cost of the Peninsular War. Wellington himself has packed the cost to France into brief and terrible compass. 'From first to last,' he says, 'Napoleon sent 600,000 men into Spain, and I know that not more than 100,000 went out in the shape of an army, and with the exception of Suchet's corps, these were without cannon or baggage or anything to enable them to act as an army.' The war certainly added £400,000,000 to the public debt of England. What it cost in life and suffering cannot be told. What were its achievements?

Wellington landed at Mondego Bay on August 1, 1808; he crossed the Bidassoa, and touched French soil on October 17, 1813. Betwixt those two dates lies a resounding story of battles, sieges, marches, and retreats not easy to parallel in history. The three great sieges of the Peninsula—Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and San Sebastian—for swiftness, audacity, and a certain concentrated intensity of sustained daring, must always be memorable. Napier has enshrined for all time in his deathless prose the blackness, the tumult, the obstinate and furious valour of the night-attack on Badajos. Wellington is sometimes criticized as being 'cold-blooded,' destitute of fire, &c.; but we have only to compare his leap on Ciudad Rodrigo with that of Massena to see with what fire—not to say fury—he could strike when his plans required it.

Massena captured the fortress in 1810; his force consisted of 50,000 men, with a covering army, under Kellerman, of 12,000. He took up his ground before the fortress on April 2; it surrendered on July 10; the

siege practically lasting over three months. When Wellington attacked Badajos in 1812, the fortress had been greatly strengthened, and he had a force scarcely half that of Massena. It was the winter time, the ground was thick with snow, the streams were frozen; yet Wellington calculated that he would do in twenty-four days what it took Massena three months to accomplish. That was a sufficiently audacious estimate! As a matter of fact, he invested the fortress on January 8, and carried it by storm on the night of the 19th. The siege lasted only eleven days; but it cost Wellington 1,300 killed and wounded, and two of his best generals, Craufurd and Mackinnon.

The story of San Sebastian is written in more bloody characters than even that of Badajos or Ciudad Rodrigo. Twice the storming parties were flung on the great breach, and once even their valour failed. For the second assault Wellington called for fifty volunteers from each of the fifteen regiments of the 1st, 4th, and Light Divisions—'men,' the call ran, 'who will show other troops how to mount a breach.' The whole three divisions volunteered; but the men of the 5th Division, who had failed at the first attack, were furious at the call for volunteers. Leith, who commanded the division, insisted that his men should lead the second attack; and there was some risk that the men of his regiment would fire on the volunteers from the other divisions if they had been given the lead. Of the 750 volunteers, every second man fell! Graham, who commanded the attack, it will be remembered, turned failure into victory by making the storming parties—when they failed to break through—fling themselves down on the slope of the breach, and during that pause in the fury of the assault, turning fifty heavy guns on the high curtain which overlooked both the breaches. For half an hour the British guns poured a stream of shot above the crouching and scattered fragments of the storming parties, till the defences were shattered. Then the firing ceased, the stormers leaped up, and San Sebastian was won.

The battles of the Peninsular campaign, again, have

memorable characteristics. Vimiero, measured by the forces employed, was hardly a fifth-rate battle; yet it achieved great results, and was marked by amazing fierceness in the British attack. Wellington himself, who had seen great battles in India, says of it, 'I have never seen such fighting.' Talavera is, in its incidents, one of the most picturesque and dramatic battles of history. What other battle has shown the spectacle of 10,000 infantry all running away at once before a few pistol shots? But the Spaniards—nearly the whole of Wellington's right wing—offered this spectacle before the fighting had even begun. Who can forget, again, the story of the leap of the French in the darkness, on the hill on Wellington's left, which formed the key of his position, a struggle in the dark in which nearly 2,000 men were killed and wounded; the reckless charge of the Guards in Wellington's centre, which nearly lost the battle; the wild ride of the 23rd Light Dragoons, a performance as heroic as that of Balaclava, and even a little more insane?

Napier has made Busaco and Albuera imperishable memories, but not even Napier can quite do justice to the dramatic features of the two days' fight at Fuentes d'Onore. War has not often seen a spectacle more picturesque than that offered when Wellington, at the crisis of the fight, swung back his right wing, and the Light Division, a tiny thread of squares, moved across the plain, with 5,000 French cavalry eddying about them, but not daring to charge home; the squares of bayonets lost to sight amid a forest of reckless, glittering sabres.

One tiny incident in the battle is unforgettable: Norman Ramsay and his battery of guns had been cut off—swallowed up, indeed—by the charge of an immense body of French cavalry. Then, as Napier tells the story, from the very centre of the huge body of charging cavalry, 'an English shout pealed high and clear, the mass was rent asunder, and Norman Ramsay burst forth, sword in hand, at the head of his battery; his horses, breathing fire, stretched like greyhounds along the plain, the guns

bounded behind them like things of no weight, and the mounted gunners followed close, with heads bent low, and pointed weapons, in desperate career.'

Salamanca, fought on July 22, 1812, is kept in memory by the epigram—a French epigram—which describes it as the battle in which Wellington 'beat 40,000 men in forty minutes.' His stroke at the gap suddenly disclosed in Marmont's line had the sudden swiftness of a rapier thrust, and was almost as deadly. But not less striking in that great battle was the gallant rally of the French, under Clausel, when Marmont, a defeated and wounded general, had been carried off the field. The French rearguard clung, it will be remembered, to what was known as the French Arapiles. Night had fallen, and against the black sky the unceasing musketry fire of the French resembled an eddying scribble of flame running up high into space. Grattan, of the 'Connaught Rangers,' says, indeed, that 'the whole hill seemed one vast sea of flame. Clinton's men looked as if they were attacking a burning mountain, the crater of which was defended by a barrier of shining steel.' An officer of the 32nd, who took part in the fight, and who afterwards stood in the firing line at Quatre Bras and at Waterloo, declares that at neither battle was the fire of the French equal in sustained fierceness to that from the French Arapiles at Salamanca. And yet the 6th Division carried the hill!

Vittoria has been described, with justice, as one of the decisive battles of the world, since it finally drove the French from Spain, and it was for Wellington a brilliant stroke of generalship. After Vittoria came the long and stubborn campaign in the Pyrenees, where Soult and Wellington contended together, and never in any campaign was there fiercer or more stubborn fighting.

Wellington's six campaigns in the Peninsula, in a word, are a great and memorable record; and which deserves greater praise, the skill of the leadership or the endurance and valour of the men in the ranks, is not easy to say. 'Those veterans,' says Napier, summing up their

deeds, 'had won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats; had made or sustained ten sieges, and taken four great fortresses; had twice expelled the French from Portugal, once from Spain; had penetrated France, and killed, wounded, or captured 200,000 enemies—leaving of their own number 40,000 dead, whose bones whiten the plains and mountains of the Peninsula.'

The Peninsular War, it may be added, did something more than save the national existence of both Portugal and Spain. It profoundly, if not decisively, influenced the whole issue of the struggle against Napoleon; and so it helped to decide the fate of Europe. Let us only imagine that the quarter of a million of French soldiers marching and fighting in Spain—all of them, during the later years of the struggle, hardy veterans—had been set in the battle line at Wagram, or at Borodino, or had taken part in the battle of nations at Dresden. It is reasonably certain that, in that case, Napoleon might have overthrown Russia; there would have been no tragical passage of the Beresina, no sixth coalition against France, and no entrance of the Allies into Paris. Napoleon, in a word, might have escaped both Elba and St. Helena, and have translated the wildest dreams of his ambition into sober fact.

Napoleon lost more than Spain at Vittoria; he lost Europe. Napoleon himself said at Dresden, 'But for Spain I should have been master of Europe.' At St. Helena he declared, 'The Spanish war destroyed me.' But the 'Spanish ulcer' would not have ruined Napoleon if to the distracted, planless, guerilla warfare of Spain there had not been added the genius of Wellington, the valour of British troops, and the resolute purpose of the British nation.

W. H. FITCHETT.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN WESLEYAN METHODISM

Minutes of Conference, 1908: Reports of Committees appointed by the Conference of 1907, and Resolutions of the Conference of 1908; pp. 105, 355, 574-590.

The Class-meeting Fellowship of Wesleyan Methodism.
By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D. (London:
Robert Culley. 1907.)

Church Membership: Scriptural Ideals and Methodist Rules. By the Rev. Wm. Bradfield. (London:
Charles H. Kelly. 1907.)

THE writer remembers in his boyhood reading on the walls of Thirsk the advertisement that John Hickling was to preach in that town, the last-surviving of Wesley's Itinerants. Though he failed to see that venerable man, he has known familiarly a number of persons who had known many who had seen and heard and spoken with John Wesley. Two intervening links of acquaintanceship come between ourselves and the founders of Methodism; three such links connected them in turn with the Reformation and the beginnings of modern England. An easy arithmetical calculation carries us back from this point to the Christian era. But forty or fifty persons stand in historical sequence between the twentieth century and the days of the Son of Man. Could these be restored with memory unimpaired to the breathing world, like Moses and Elias when they talked with Jesus at His transfiguration, it would be possible to gather into a small room, and to make acquaintance with and question in a few hours, the whole line of the men through whom the faith of Christ has come down to us. Such cognizance would be no more than a summary of the actual course of things, a review of the means by which and the mode in

which the life of religion subsists among mankind. Scripture itself, the standard of tradition, is its product to begin with; the Bible is the transcript and testimony of a living experience of the things of God. Books are a telephone for the mighty voices of the past. The Spirit that giveth life dwells in and operates through the letter of God's Word; but that Word becomes communicative and quickening, for the most part, through the illuminating comment and companion witness of a personal Christianity. In the pages of Evangelists and Apostles we drink freshly from the divine fountain of the life that is in Christ; but that stream was not drawn off to fill the New Testament books; though often checked, diverted, affected with many a foreign and turbid element, it has flowed on in deepening fullness through all the generations to our own. 'Thou, therefore, my child,' said the dying Apostle to Timothy, 'be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus; and the things thou hast heard from me among many witnesses, these commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.' In virtue of such communion we hold the gospel of the world's salvation, transmitted from land to land and from age to age by the close-linked chain of Christian hearts.

Modern research goes to show that the original Church life was the pure expression of this principle. Primitive Christianity was nothing more, and nothing less, than a fellowship in the testimony of Jesus; its *ecclesiae* were so many assemblies of 'those in every place who called on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,' who loved each other as His brethren and bore themselves as comrades and fellow-soldiers in His warfare. This fact has been strikingly expressed by the eminent critic, Dr. Caspar R. Gregory, writing on *The Apostolic Age*:¹

The Christian Church is more than a book. Jesus was more than a word. He was the Life, and the Church is a living society, a living fellowship. There is something sublime

¹ *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, pp. 44, 45 (International Theological Library). T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

in such a fellowship, that passes through the ages in a long tradition. Our connexion with Jesus, which reaches now over more than eighteen hundred years, does not rest upon the fact that He wrote something down, which one man after another has read and believed to this very day. . . . He *lived*, and He spoke. Christianity began with the joining of heart to heart. Eye looked into eye. The living voice struck upon the living ear. And it is precisely such a uniting of personalities, such an action of man upon man, that ever since Jesus spoke has effected the renewal of Christianity. . . . Christianity is an uninterrupted life.

What is true of the faith of Christ as a heritage from the past, holds equally for its maintenance in the present: 'the Church is a living society, a living fellowship.' The secret of its being is the immortality of Him who declared, 'Because I live, ye shall live also.' The Spirit who unites us with the Apostles and the confessors of every age, whose indwelling makes the receivers of Christ brethren to Him and to each other and partners in the wealth of His kingdom, binds us to all souls on earth that are lovers of our Lord. Forms of ministry and articles of belief, modes of worship and administration, are things subordinate to the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which is that Christian men should act as brethren and serve one another in love.

Methodism has based its Church-being explicitly upon this foundation. In the second paragraph of the famous 'Rules of Society,' the Wesleys describe their people as 'united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.' That is to say, spiritual lay-fellowship is the ground of Methodist Churchmanship. All else that goes to make up a Church is auxiliary, according to our creed, and instrumental to the pervasive spiritual intercourse which forms the vital tissue of the communion of Christ. The Methodist 'society' or the Quaker 'meeting,' we venture

to affirm, has through the last two centuries represented the New Testament *ecclesia* and *koinonia* (assembly and fellowship) in this vital respect more truly than did the venerable national fabric which bore the name in English speech of 'the Church.' The word *priest* hardly differs more from the original *presbyter* than *church* had travelled from the brotherly *ecclesia* of Apostolic days. It is true that the religious 'Societies' which sprang up in various quarters toward the end of the seventeenth century, made no pretension to be Churches; but they supplied, for many earnest souls, the fatal lack which characterized not only the Anglican, but in great part also the Nonconformist communities of that period. In his *Plain Account of the People called Methodists*, written in the year 1748, after defining what he understands by fellowship, John Wesley asks :

But, alas, where is it to be found? Look east or west, north or south; name what parish you please: is this Christian fellowship there? Rather, are not the bulk of the parishioners a rope of sand? What Christian connexion is there between them? what intercourse in spiritual things? what watching over each other's souls? what bearing of one another's burdens? . . . The real truth is . . . we introduce Christian fellowship where it was utterly destroyed. And the fruits of it have been peace, joy, love, and zeal for every good word and work.

The great Society of the Wesleys emerged out of the movement towards religious fraternity to which we have referred, in its confluence with the mighty revival of evangelical preaching. Methodism was the expression of an irrepressible spiritual instinct; it was the reappearance of the spiritual socialism of the first Christianity. This new growth was bound either to be grafted upon the existing Church organism and to regenerate it, or to be extruded from it and compelled to take a separate course. The latter issue, which the Founders so earnestly deprecated, proved inevitable. The death of John Wesley revealed the chasm lying between Methodism and

Anglicanism. A large proportion of Methodist people were strangers to the offices of the Church of England, and felt no debt to her ministrations; many were repelled from her communion-table. Their conversion was due to Methodist preaching; their spiritual nurture had been received in the Methodist Society. They had no desire, and no need, to look elsewhere for the ordinances of grace. Methodism was to them *ipso facto* a Church of the living God; such John Wesley himself had, by word and deed, many times declared it to be. The local Societies through his skilful pastoral direction carried on for fifty years—the greatest episcopate the Church has witnessed since St. Paul's day—had been bound into a strong connexion, which loyally accepted the control of the 'Annual Conference' instituted by him; and the network of the Circuits, with their superintendents, travelling and local preachers, Class-leaders, and Quarterly Meetings, took the place for them of the old parochial and diocesan system.

To trace the course of Wesleyan Methodism from 1791 to 1908 would be a long story. So much as we have said seemed to be necessary, in order to show where our roots lie and what the principle is for which the Methodist Church stands. The two pamphlets placed at the head of this article, along with the *Minutes of Conference* for the current year, excellently illustrate the bearing of that principle on the present situation. The former comes from the pen of the venerable Nestor of our Church, whose wide knowledge and sympathies, whose statesmanlike grasp of affairs and commanding ability in speech and writing, have given him a unique influence in the councils of Methodism for a generation past. Mr. Bradfield speaks for the newer time, and gives strong and clear expression to its ways of thinking. Both write in vindication of the fellowship-basis of the Church; both are warm defenders of the Class Meeting, and of the Class Meeting test of membership—the younger man being, if possible, the more conservative, and at the same time the more argumentative, in this respect.

These writers, however, do not deal directly with the chronic difficulty, so much aggravated in recent times, which has compelled the Conference twice within little more than twenty years to reconsider its terms of communion. That difficulty is twofold: it consists (1) in the fact that a large proportion of those whose names stand upon our Class-books, and who are therefore duly recognized Church members, rarely or never attend the Class Meeting, and are practically out of fellowship; (2) it is alleged that there are many worthy Christian people worshipping in our Churches, contributing to our funds, wishful to join the Society and eligible for communion on every other ground, who will not come to the Class Meeting, especially when they see, or suppose, that this qualification is frequently of a nominal character. The former of these allegations no one disputes; the Conference of 1889 virtually sanctioned irregularity and encouraged an elastic application of the test, when it pronounced that 'there exists no rule which requires a minister to refuse a ticket [of membership] solely on the ground of irregular attendance at Class.' As to the extent to which the second statement holds good, opinions differ. The difficulty is part of 'the problem of the unattached Christian,' which, as Mr. Bradfield points out (pp. 5, 6), afflicts all Churches in the present temper of men's minds, and those most seriously which uphold an effective discipline: objections will be raised against any and every test of membership by men indisposed to 'submit one to another in the fear of Christ.' But this general, and very just, reflexion does not cover the facts of our own case.

The course of recent discussion is familiar to most of our readers. The memorable debate on the subject in the Representative Conference of 1907 resulted in the following resolutions (*Minutes* of 1907, p. 104):

1. The Conference is of opinion that the time is not ripe for legislation on this great question.
2. The Conference recognizes, however, the necessity for some better adjustment of existing conditions, and for the

provision of regulations that shall make our membership more uniform and definite, and remove the inequalities which exist in our present administration with regard to Church membership.

3. The Conference therefore appoints a Committee :

- (i) To consider how the Class Meeting and the Society Meeting may be rendered more effective, and may be better adapted to the needs of our people in the present day.
- (ii) To prepare a statement to accompany our Rules of Society, that shall clearly and adequately set forth the conditions, duties, and privileges of Church membership.

The Pastoral Session of the Conference endorsed these findings, and took parallel action.

Evidently the thought was not to be entertained of any fundamental change in the basis of Church membership; but the Conference wished to have that basis cleared, and the regulations grounded upon it made more effective and distinct. The statement called for in Resolution 3 (ii) above quoted, which was presented in all but identical form to the last Conference by the two Committees, was finally adopted in the Pastoral Session. This statement takes the shape of an exposition of the Methodist doctrine of the Church, leading up from the New Testament teaching as to the Body of Christ, through the conception of the Church Universal with its Ministry and Sacraments, to the origin and specific character of the Methodist communion, and the 'Rules of Society' which form its constitutional law. These latter are paraphrased in the language of to-day. It was encouraging, and a thing beyond the hopes of many, that so much could be said as the above document contains, with all but unanimous consent, upon the most radical and controversial questions in the history and theory of the Church. This manifesto will, at any rate, serve to show what we Methodists mean by 'the Church,' and what we stand for in our Church testimony.

The proposals drawn up by the Representative and Pastoral Committees (which proved here also to be nearly of one mind) in obedience to Resolution 3 (i) of the previous Conference, were full and elaborate. They contain an amount of labour which required, perhaps, longer deliberation and a more patient and gradual shaping than Committees consisting of busy men were able to give them in a single year, after digesting the detailed introductory statement. They deal comprehensively with the 'existing conditions' and anomalies of our Church membership, and offer a definite modification of the Class Meeting test. The 'conditions of membership' are disposed under three heads: (1) *Membership on Trial*, (2) *Entrance into Full Membership*, (3) *Privileges and Obligations of Membership*. The debate raised by the Report in the Representative Session of 1908 showed the Conference to be of divided, not to say of distracted mind; it declined (by a majority of some five to four) to accept the Report as it stands, while it expressed its 'heartly approval' of certain parts thereof 'without pronouncing on the other recommendations' it contained, finally directing that the whole scheme 'be submitted to the Synods for their judgement' (*Minutes*, 1908, pp. 106 and 355). This course was adopted 'in view of the grave issues which the question involves,' and with the desire to 'ascertain the mind of our people generally' before decision should be taken. Such a *referendum*, while it pays honour to the wisdom of the people, is liable to impair the influence of the Conference; the expedient indicates the extreme gravity of the crisis. The Synods have a difficult task laid upon them in helping the Conference to settle its mind.

The sections of the Report which the Conference has 'approved in general,' are, however, of great practical moment; their acceptance will considerably clear the ground. The approved paragraphs consist of Section III. 1 A, on the *Class Meeting* (including 'Adaptations'), and B (a) and (b), on the *Society Meeting*. The regulations proposed on the latter subject involve new legislation,

which in any case would have to be referred to the Synods; these are invited, therefore, first to pass judgement upon the reconstitution of the Society Meeting, then to 'make such suggestions on the Report as a whole as they deem fit' (*Minutes* p. 356). In fact, the entire Report is sent down to the Synods, which will be guided by the consideration that the Conference has 'adopted' the prefatory statement, and that it 'heartily approves' the proposals for restoring the Society Meeting—the paragraphs respecting the Class Meeting under III. 1 A, though valuable and full of interest, are in effect no more than declaratory. On Sections I. and II. of 'the Conditions,' covering the all-important matters of probation and entrance into full Church status, the Conference is silent; we do not remember that decided hostility was expressed in discussion to the proposals of the Committees under these heads, although they invite criticism both in matter and form.

The point of burning controversy in the Conference, and of sharp division in Committee, proved to be furnished by Section III. 2 (III. 4 of the Pastoral Report); it lay particularly in the sentence which runs thus in the two Reports (pp. 581, 590): 'Any member who, without sufficient reason, persistently absents himself both from the Class Meeting and the Society Meeting, shall be considered as having thereby excluded himself from Church membership' (Representative); 'Any member who, without sufficient reason, has absented himself both from the Class Meeting and the Society Meeting so long a time as twelve months, shall be considered as having thereby excluded himself from Church membership.' The two forms of statement alike insist upon the Church *meeting* as the test of membership; they agree in recognizing the Society Meeting along with the Class Meeting as possessing this character. They differ only as to the term of non-attendance that renders exclusion necessary, the one Committee drawing the line at *twelve months*, where the other speaks of *persistent neglect*. The language of the Pastoral Report conforms to the instruction of the Conference to frame

'regulations that shall make membership more uniform and definite, and remove inequalities' of administration (*Minutes*, 1907, p. 104). 'Persistent neglect,' though more emphatic, is a phrase equally elastic with the 'irregular attendance' which figured in the charge of the Conference of 1889 and has lent so much vagueness to our terms of membership. One feels the objections that lie against any hard and fast rule in such matters; but the evils of uncertainty are great, and we should not wonder to see the Synods press for a stricter regulation.

To the principle which the above rule in both its forms contains, we unequivocally subscribe. This axiom of Methodism is well expressed by Mr. Bradfield, when he writes (pp. 9, 31, 32):

To require that Church members shall attend a meeting of the Church is surely not stretching overmuch our authority, nor going beyond the mind of Christ. . . . The Church of Jesus Christ means brotherly love and fellowship between the people who are actually able to come together in His name in any given locality; it means their common worship and witness, or it means nothing. For 'the Church' is essentially a meeting. The great promises of the New Testament, promises of the presence of Christ and of His authority, are made to those 'gathered together in His name.' And the power and blessings of the Church are realized when they are 'all together with one accord in one place.' . . . For us to give up the claim that the Church should meet, as a Church, apart from the world, where all the gifts of the members may be exercised for mutual edification, would be a calamitous retrogression.

Here, we are persuaded, is for us the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae*. Strange to say, we have shrunk from the definite affirmation of the law which has run through the whole existence of our Church. The outstanding declaration on the subject in recent years has been the negative pronouncement of 1889, that 'there exists no rule which requires a minister to refuse a ticket [of

membership] solely on the ground of irregular attendance at Class' (see Simon's *Summary*, p. 8).

The proposals of 1908 lay it down for the first time in set terms that wilful and continued absence from the Church's meetings is separation from the Church—in the words of the Statement, that 'personal fellowship is incumbent upon all members of our Church' and 'none may be counted as discharged from this debt of love, save those who are debarred or disabled from attendance at the social means of grace.'

We are agreed, it seems, upon the principle, and it is well to have this unmistakably asserted; to apply it is another thing. Here the stone of stumbling and rock of offence rises in our way. The Committees of 1907-8 have not succeeded in removing it, any more than their predecessors; something has been done, if its position and dimensions are more clearly seen. The Class Meeting undoubtedly holds the field, as the regular and familiar mode of spiritual fellowship amongst Methodists, hallowed by long usage and by rich memories of blessing. Loyalty to the Class Meeting is strong in the Conference, especially amongst its trusted leaders and missionaries; and the sentiment prevails with the large majority of our earnest people. This is a reassuring fact; the heart of Methodism is sound. At the same time, when a Committee is called upon to provide 'uniform and definite' regulations adjusted to 'existing conditions,' it is bound to deal with things as they are. If the Church expects definite local fellowship from all its members, it must offer that fellowship in practicable forms. Does the Class Meeting as we know it, does it everywhere, approximately fulfil this requirement? We have met with no well-informed person who will answer the question in the affirmative; with very few who would be prepared to say to all would-be Methodists, making no exception and with the worst as well as the best Class Meetings in view, 'You must regularly attend some available Class Meeting, or we shall put you out of Society.'

The facts disclosed by inquiry into the state of the Class Meeting throughout the Connexion weighed heavily on the judgement of the Committees. 'Irregular attendance' at Class, in every degree up to the vanishing point, has long been sanctioned—the Conference of 1889 deliberately admitted this—and is matter in some quarters of immemorial usage. More than this, a printed official report lies before us, drawn from examination of a certain District probably neither worse nor better in this respect than others, showing that in eleven out of thirteen reporting Circuits during a certain recent quarter thirty-two per cent. of the Church members enrolled in Class-books made no attendance whatever at the meetings which were held, and that beside these close upon eighteen per cent. of the Circuit membership belonged to 'classes which do not meet!' In these eleven sample Circuits one-fourth of the Classes (110 out of 403), it appears, hold no meeting at all; and half of the recognized membership is reported to be non-attending. Making every allowance for necessary absences through distance, business, and infirmity, these are disquieting figures, and indicate a wide 'forsaking of the assembling of ourselves together.' But these are amongst the 'existing conditions' of which we are seeking a 'better adjustment.' The Conference cannot require Church members to attend Classes that never meet, nor content itself with such fellowship as this!

What have the Committees done in face of the dilemma? They have attempted two things. First, in their paragraph on 'Adaptations of the Class Meeting' (III. 1 A; expressed with less detail in the Pastoral Report), they seek to adjust it in every possible sense to 'the needs, opportunities, and character of our people,' advising the utmost liberty in circumstances of time and place, and in the conduct of the meeting, that is consistent with its purpose 'to foster a holy Christian fellowship.' But they have not supposed that this suggestion meets the needs of the situation; after all it is no more than pious advice, and encouragement to make use of a freedom already

existing, which has often been used with good effect. They have, further, remembered that behind the Class and its meetings there is the Society, the mother and matrix of the Class Meeting and the proper local Church of Methodism. They have drawn up a plan for the reconstitution of the Society Meeting, which the Conference 'heartily approves.' Moreover, in the terms of the clause already quoted (III. 2, or 4), they have associated the Society Meeting with the Class Meeting as conjoint modes of fellowship, unitedly giving Church status to those attending them 'with reasonable frequency.' The Class being, as the 'Rules' say, a 'smaller company' within the Society and belonging thereto as a part to the whole, it is the natural and constitutional resort to fall back upon the gathering of the Society, where the Class Meeting is inefficient or in abeyance. The Conference of 1907 declined to sanction an absentee membership; it virtually pronounced that people 'in Society' must be willing to associate, that meeting one's brethren is of the essence of our Church life. To secure universal attendance at the Class Meeting is impossible. The Committee adopted what seems to us to have been the one course open to it, in providing that those who cannot attend their Class or have no Class Meeting to attend, shall, at any rate, join hands in the gathering of the Society, which is, in fact, the local *ecclesia*, the assembly of Christ's people in the given place. Within such a Society each Methodist holds his membership, and to it he is properly responsible. Where Classes do not meet, or their constituents fail to appear except by name upon a Class-book, it is possible for the minister in gathering the Society round him to recall its members to a sense of their Church standing and duties, to bring them into touch with each other and to resuscitate the dormant fellowship. If any spark of Methodist brotherhood and loyalty is still burning, such a challenge will not be in vain. So, we think, our Founder would have acted. It was the *Societies* that John Wesley habitually met in his rounds; for 'the Society—Meeting, Giving

Thanks, Praying, Parting' (alas, these titles have disappeared from the 'Methodist Hymn Book'!)—Charles Wesley wrote our immortal Fellowship hymns. A great fund of power and of blessing awaits us in the renewed meetings of the Society, if they be turned to full account.

Important as it is to guard the door and maintain the fence of Christ's fold, to make that fold a home for the flock, a place of shelter and nurture and communion, is more important still. Debate turns too much on the fold-fencing, too little on the fold-furnishing. The latter, rather than the former, was our Lord's prime care. He would have 'wheat and tares grow together till the harvest,' rather than see the wheat injured by the uprooting of the tares in impatient discipline; He suffered a Judas in the Apostolate, until the time came for him to 'go' by his own will 'to his own place.' In the light of this example all measures must be judged which would un-church any who claim a place within the Christian Society. We insist on fellowship; we must give to 'fellowship' a generous and practicable interpretation. The Methodist rule has the advantage of being self-acting: 'the far greater number,' said John Wesley respecting those who left the Society, 'exclude themselves by utterly forsaking us'; the formula of exclusion now proposed runs in like terms, when it says that any one who 'persistently (or, for twelve months) absents himself' from his brethren's company 'shall be considered to have thereby excluded himself from Church membership.' Whatever becomes of this disciplinary part of the Committee's plan, its constructive part will surely stand, and may grow to much. The failure to maintain and develop the Society Meeting has proved, in our estimate, the most unfortunate turn in the ecclesiastical history of Methodism. It is true that 'Society Meetings,' which were held every Sunday evening in early Methodism, figure in our official regulations and occupy a page and a half in Simon's *Summary* (pp. 27, 28); but for long they have been rare and casual occurrences—gatherings summoned only when the pastor wished to give some con-

fidential homily to his people. Even so, they are of peculiar value; the writer can recall some such occasions in his youth which, along with the Lovefeast and Covenant Service (these are properly Society Meetings), enabled him better than anything else he had witnessed to recall the primitive *ecclesia* and awakened in him the sense of a common being and a common responsibility to Christ, a single soul and will, pervading the Church. The Class Meeting, be it ever so good, cannot suffice for this great purpose; it wears of necessity a semi-private and voluntary aspect, and fails to nourish a Church-consciousness. Its members become deeply interested in each other, and devoted to their leader; but the tie is mainly personal—they 'belong to Mr. So-and-so's Class,' too often knowing and caring little about the Church beyond this. How should they care for the Church of God when perhaps they never see it, when they have no means of knowing it and no part in its concerns, when the local Church seldom or never meets in its distinctive capacity and 'the Society' is a mere name to those composing it? Here, we believe, lies one cause of the low esteem of Church membership in the eyes of many Methodists; for this reason, amongst others, our constituency is unstable, and by tens of thousands people lightly enter and lightly leave our fold. We gather, but we fail to keep. We require a broader basis of membership than the Class Meeting affords, and other ties of Church life than those it creates, endeared and strong in a multitude of instances as these are. With the Class Meeting for more intimate heart-communion and the Society Meeting for larger comradeship and fuller responsibility, we should have an ideal provision for Christian fellowship. These should be parts of one economy. To make them rivals is the last thing to be desired. How to re-establish the Society without weakening the Class, is a problem vital to our future. The patience of more than one or two years may be required to solve it.

The lapse of the Society is especially to be lamented, because this has gone to efface the correspondence between

our Churches and those of Apostolic days. St. Paul writes, in his First Epistle to Corinth, 'to the assembly of God that is in Corinth, men sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all those that call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place.' At Corinth, and in each town of the province where the gospel had taken root, the sum of the declared believers gathering stately in 'the fellowship of God's Son Jesus Christ,' forms to the Apostle's eyes 'the Church' there existing. Meeting in such assembly and 'with one accord, with one mouth, glorifying the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' Christian believers 'receive one another to the glory of God' (Rom. xv. 5-7). The meeting of the Christian Society in Corinth constitutes the court in which sentence of discipline is pronounced by the Apostle (1 Cor. v. 3, 4); here 'the name' and 'the power of the Lord Jesus' are invoked with their due and full effect. Dealing with the disorders that had attached to the holding of the Lord's Supper in the same community, it is the assembled body of the Church—the Society Meeting—that he takes to task: 'when you come together to the same spot,' he writes, 'it is not to eat the Lord's Supper, for it is his own supper that each of you is in haste to eat' (1 Cor. xi. 17 ff.). This was a Church supper, of which the Sacrament formed the concluding rite. The odious abuse reveals the use of the primitive feast. Chapters xii.-xiv. of the same writing vividly illustrate the proceedings of these earliest assemblies of the Pauline Churches—full of zest and freedom, while they were stained by strange excesses. They disclose a religious life of an intensely social and communicative nature, a Church whose members throw all their energy and talent into the common stock. The endowments of individual Christians are regarded and are used as the property, not of their several possessors, but of the commonwealth, even as the hands or eyes appertain to the bodily frame; this spiritual commonwealth forms, in the immediate sense, the Society of Christ united at the given place and time. The Apostle knows of no Christian life

that is not exercised in fellowship; and he knows of no fellowship that does not find its home and its habitual resort in 'the assembly' of those who 'in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.' It was to such a Church in its collective capacity—though marred by sad faults and containing members unworthy of their name—that St. Paul addressed the sublime apostrophe, 'Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' (1 Cor. iii. 9). Spiritual lay-fellowship supplied the tissue and texture of the original Christian Society, and that Society formed an organic unity in each of its local centres. In view of the New Testament history and the Apostolic precedents, we earnestly endorse the sentences of the double Report (III. B), introductory to the Section upon the Society Meeting:

In addition to the Class Meeting, which provides for more intimate fellowship and oversight, the Society Meeting has from the beginning been an integral part of the organization of Methodism. The Society consists of all the members at each local centre, and constitutes the Church in that place. Regular meetings of the Society are needful for the realization of a common Church life.

The Society Meeting outlined in the Committees' Reports, it should be well observed, will be the *Society's* Meeting—a people's assembly—conducted, but not monopolized, by the pastor, with spiritual fellowship and fraternization for its chief aim. The routine business assigned to it is only such as is necessary for the Society to constitute itself and to know its own members, and with good arrangement may be briefly transacted, and if necessary distributed over several meetings.

The references made to the Sacraments in the Reports before us may excite dissatisfaction from different sides. It will seem that more should have been said upon them, or less. Amongst the 'Privileges and Obligations of Church Membership' these divine rites hold with us a sacred and obligatory place, as in the rest of Christendom.

The mere length of the sentences referring to them, as compared with those devoted, for instance, to the Class Meeting, is no criterion of relative importance. The 'Statement' affirms, in its relevant paragraph, the doctrine of the Methodist standards upon this subject. In the 'Conditions' the duty of coming to the Lord's Table is pressed in the most urgent language short of absolute compulsion. Such has always been the tone of our prescriptions in regard to this Sacrament: the 'Rules of Society' put down 'the Supper of the Lord' as amongst the things whose observance is 'expected of all who desire to continue in these Societies'; in other instructions the Conference 'tenderly beseeches all members of Society' (Simon's *Summary*, p. 32) to the same effect. The Committees were not at liberty, had they wished it, to overstep this line and to turn entreaty into peremptory command. They place this topic at the close of the regulations upon fellowship, since the sacramental tokens supply the crown of Christian communion; in like sequence 'the breaking of bread' follows 'the Apostles' teaching and fellowship' in the great enumeration of Acts ii. 42. The Committees provide—under the *fifth* (not the *first*, as one might expect) of their 'Conditions of Entrance into Full Membership'—for the case of adult persons admitted to the Church 'who have not' previously 'been baptized.' A corresponding instruction should, we think, be given to parents, under the head of 'obligations,' to present their children to the Lord in baptism: the 'Statement' speaks of baptism as 'the Sacrament of entrance into the household of faith,' adding that 'from the earliest times it has been administered to little children.'

Our history places us in a certain embarrassment on these questions. In the 'Rules of Society' the Wesleys say not one word about baptism: they were not legislating for a complete Church; they presumed that their people generally had been baptized in infancy. 'The Supper of the Lord' is named incidentally, along with 'family and private prayer,' 'searching the Scripture' and 'fasting,'

amongst the general 'ordinances of God' binding upon Christians. This mere allusion is very far from representing the views of John or Charles Wesley upon the two Sacraments, or the attitude of the early Methodists towards them. From the beginning, however, there have been Methodists of Baptist persuasion as to the Sacraments, and some few holding more or less explicitly Quaker sentiments. On the other side, there is a certain vein of 'high' sacramentarian feeling, combined with evangelical faith and divorced from sacerdotalism, which has the right to claim Wesleyan sanction. The Church has been tolerant in both directions; any precision that would narrow our bounds of communion on this account is to be deprecated, and would violate 'existing conditions.'

We have never, indeed, allowed the Covenant Signs to displace the Covenant of Christ, nor consented with those who would make baptized persons members of Christ's Church in virtue of the *opus operatum* and regard the Lord's Supper as the sum of Christian fellowship. Dr. Rigg speaks for all Methodism when he says (pp. 23, 24) :

The fact is that the Lord's Supper is not at all the *test*, but the *seal* and *token* of Church membership. Our Methodist master-poet defines this very exactly :

The *badge* and *token* this,
The sure confirming *seal*,
That He is ours and we are His,
The servants of His will.

. . . Unless every man may come to the Lord's Table who pleases, there must be some preliminary condition by which the fitness of postulants for the Holy Sacrament may be ascertained and declared. Accordingly, every Church has, at least in theory, its own test or condition. . . . Nothing can be more consistent or defensible than the position assumed by Methodism, namely, that the ordinary condition of access . . . is, and ought to be, active Church fellowship in the way of the Class Meeting, coupled with a consistent Christian life.

Those who deny our right to require any fellowship

beyond the ritual communion, forget that the original Lord's Supper meant much more than the Eucharist. The Sacrament crowned the Supper; it sealed a long-trying fellowship and union of hearts not only between the Lord and His chosen, but amongst the fellow-communicants—approved 'disciples' and such as to be known before all the world as men 'who loved each other,' whose unity had its pattern in that subsisting between the Eternal Father and Son (John xvii. 21-23). Such guests, and no others, the Master of the feast invited to His Table. The intercourse around that table—the conversation of chapters xiii.-xvii. in St. John's Gospel—was integral with the Last Supper of Jesus. Accordingly, the primitive sacrament was no isolated act; it formed the close of an evening's social meal accompanying the meeting of the Society, in which Christ's friends held 'fellowship one with another,' while His 'blood cleansed them from all sin.' The broken bread and the cup of blessing took their binding force from the living brotherhood which they attested. To appropriate them on another footing is a desecration; it is to detach the seal from the Divine document, to claim the privilege, while one ignores the contents and terms, of the covenant of grace.

The Committees on Church membership have done a year's work that will bear solid fruit, in the parts of their findings which the Conference has 'adopted' or 'heartily approved,'—in the reasoned affirmation of Methodist Churchmanship, the exposition of the 'Rules of Society,' the readjustment of the Class Meeting, and the restoration and development of the Society Meeting. Though the signs are not favourable for any immediate and generally satisfying redefinition of the test of membership, we dare not despair of a solution. The Church cannot put the task aside again; she must not weary of the labour it entails. The Spirit of truth will not refuse to guide us, if we keep His unity and in brotherly love submit our differences to His controlling and reconciling judgement.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK DRAMA

The Religious Teachers of Greece. By JAMES ADAM,
Litt.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1908.)

TO judge of the influence of any teaching on a people we must know something of the previous attitude of their minds, of their early training, must know what creed they believed, or at least accepted, how far hopes based on it stimulated, or fears restrained them, how far appeals to it had practical effect in dealings between state and state, between man and man, and how far their religious convictions were sincere enough to touch their purses. When we think of the doctrines, sanctions, and obligations of religion, we contemplate them as transmitted in sacred writings, as crystallized in the creeds, ordinances, and ritual of a Church, as enforced by the teaching, the promises, the threatenings of its ministers. The Greek's religion had no such associations. His first introduction to theology would be in the fairy-tale form of myth and legend, as told in the nursery. The foundations of his belief were laid at school, where, for Catechism and Bible readings, he was put through a course of Homer and Hesiod. We learn from Plato, Dr. Adam reminds us, that :

Poetic anthologies were sometimes made with the object of instilling the wisdom of the poets into the youthful mind; and it is to a later anthology of this kind, the anthology of Stobaeus, that we owe many of the finest fragments of the Greek dramatists. The poets who played the chief rôle in the education of the young were Homer, Hesiod, and the so-called gnomic poets, particularly Theognis. How thoroughly they were assimilated may be seen from the frequency with which these poets, and especially Homer, are quoted and alluded to throughout the whole

history of Greek literature. 'Most men who had an opinion to defend,' says Grote, 'rejoiced to be able to support or enforce it by some passages of Homer, well or ill explained—just as texts of the Bible are quoted in modern times' (p. 11). . . . 'It is true to say that certain views of the Deity, and certain versions of the legends about the Gods and heroes, enjoyed an exceptional authority such as may justify us in designating them as orthodox, in a certain qualified sense of the term, and in this restricted meaning of the word it is Homer and Hesiod who are the representatives of Greek orthodoxy' (p. 7). . . . 'The modern reader is so accustomed to look on Homer as a poet and nothing more that it is difficult for him to realize that Homer was also a great religious teacher whose representations of the Godhead and his attributes had a practical influence on the lives and conduct of the Greeks' (p. 9).

And it may be claimed for this education that in practical effect it was sound; for, just as the Christian draws inspiration to good from the Psalms, but no inspiration to evil from the moral lapses of David, so the young Greek, taught to draw no lessons for his own conduct from the actions of the Gods in epic poetry (as of beings whose omnipotent irresponsibility set them outside any standards of human conduct), learnt from it the rudiments of the broadest and deepest lessons of religion—as where, in the sentence, 'All men stand in need of the Gods,' the poet, as Dr. Adam says:

Gives expression not only to the universality of the religious instinct, but also to the foundation on which religion everywhere rests, man's consciousness of dependence on a personality or personalities higher than his own. For the religion of Homer in particular this saying should be regarded as an authoritative text or motto; for by far the most striking and characteristic feature in his faith is the extent to which both man and nature are conceived as dependent on the heavenly powers (p. 22).

He learnt that:

It is to the Gods that we owe not only the goods of body and external goods, beauty and health, prosperity and fame and wealth, but also the goods of soul, courage and wisdom and righteousness; there is, in short, no blessing of which they are not the cause (p. 41).

He learnt that the Gods are ever watchful to punish sin, and especially presumptuous sins. Homer's poems

Abound in lessons of piety, moderation, and truth; the virtues of family, social, and political life, friendship and charity, consideration for the rights of others, chivalry and courage, are embodied in many imperishable examples (p. 66).

Hesiod read to him lessons of honesty and industry, sang how the blessings of peace come to the just, and pointed to the sleepless watch of the all-seeing ones :

For thrice ten thousand servants of Zeus, immortal, fly
O'er the all-sustaining earth, watching men that be born but to die;

Over deeds of justice and deeds of iniquity watching, they go
Shrouded in veils of mist over all the earth to and fro.

And Justice the Maiden is Daughter of Zeus : she is glorified
And is honoured by all the Gods in Olympus' halls which abide;
And when any by wrongful accusing insulteth her majesty,
Straightway she seateth herself by Father Zeus on high,
And she telleth the thoughts of unrighteous men, that the
people may pay

For the reckless sins of their kings, who from straight paths
turn them away

To wrest the right in their judgements, whose purposes ruin-
ward stray.

Just as at school the boy's theology was indissolubly bound up with instruction in elocution, in literature, in the elements of all manly virtues, so, on leaving school, his religious faith and practice were bound up with his social and political life. Wherever he went, he passed among altars, temples, and statues of divinities; in the home, their presence was recognized at every turn; his dwelling had its altar to Zeus in the courtyard, and its special household

deities; he undertook no enterprise without first consulting their will with prayer and sacrifice. And what he did as an individual, he did in his corporate capacity as a citizen.

National assemblies and military expeditions were inaugurated by public prayers: treaties between states and contracts between individuals were confirmed by oath; the vengeance of the gods was invoked upon infringers of them: the whole of corporate life, in short, social and political, was so embraced and bathed in an idealizing element of ritual that the secular and religious aspects of the State must have been as inseparable to a Greek in idea as we know them to have been in constitution (Dickenson, *Greek View of Life*, p. 11).

To the ancient world it never occurred that the State was 'profane,' nor would the distinction between Church and State have been intelligible to the Greeks. Religious worship and ritual were inwrought into the texture of their political and social life. The Greek city was invested with a sacred character from the outset; it was the chosen home of protecting Gods, the embodiment of the moral law, the visible expression of those ideal interests which were symbolized by the popular religion (Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 69).

It follows, then, that the Greek's religion, so far as it went, was the atmosphere of his life; and just as in Christian countries the vast majority of the adherents of the various Churches remain unaffected by the 'advanced thinking' and 'higher criticism' of the hour, so these Athenians were content to stand fast in the old ways, shutting their eyes to difficulties and inconsistencies in their creed, and satisfied to live their religion, without questioning too curiously into its basis or its accretions. Philosophers might theorize about origins, and first causes, and explanations of the mysteries of being; but for the average Greek their voices cried in the wilderness: he was haunted by immemorial traditions, stirred by instincts inherited from races whose very names he knew not, enwrapped in the atmosphere of a social world in which religion was as

much an inseparable part of life as the nerves are of the body—and this a religion not of Sundays, or of Churches, or of sacred books, but of every day and hour, of the home as much as of the temple, of all legend and all literature, a religion from time to time kindled into splendour and realism by national festival and sacrifice, a religion whose yoke was easy, whose burden was light, in that it brought with it no pangs of introspection, no agonies of moral yearning, no stings of conscience, no crushing sense of sin, no terrors of the law. If it met no deeper needs of the soul, at least it did not create them; if it uttered no invitation to the weary and heavy-laden, it did not add to the burden of this world the burden of the world to come; if it brought no hint of regeneration to human hearts, it did not beget unrest within those hearts by revealing to them their desperate corruption. It enjoined reverence and humility toward the Gods, justice between man and man; but the motions of the heart, the promptings of the senses, the impulses of the passions, were held in check mainly by social conventions, by the public opinion of each community. This was, indeed, much less lax than the examples set by the divinities of Homer and Hesiod. But we must not therefore jump to the conclusion that the Greek did not believe in his Gods and Goddesses, because in the only 'inspired records' available they appeared as beings who might, indeed, be feared, but hardly trusted, and but seldom respected. He knew, as well as we do, that these representations were the offspring of the imaginations of poets who wrote in what he regarded as historical times. Hesiod was no further off than Milton is from us, and, whatever date scholars may finally assign to Homer (be he one or many), he was for the men of Aeschylus' day not more remote than Chaucer is for us, and may have been regarded as being as near as Shakespeare. An adult Greek, if put through a serious 'divinity examination,' would admit that he believed as little in the details of these poetic visions as we do in Milton's account of the heavenly councils and the war between the angels.

But it is a long step from this to conclude that he regarded the Gods, or any of them, as non-existent. *We* are so accustomed to look upon them as the mere creatures of a fairy-tale, that literary critics are continually assuming that the Greeks also did not take their Gods seriously, that their fundamental beliefs, interwoven as they were with all their social and national life, could be easily overthrown when a dramatist or a philosopher set in strong relief the absurdity or the unworthiness of some of the embroidery laid by an epic poet on 'traditions of their fathers, old as time.' Even philosophers were not practical sceptics. With respect to the uncertain future, as Dr. Adam well puts it :

The whole of this side of things, Socrates believed, the Gods had reserved for themselves, and denied to human reason; but we are not on that account to leave it out of consideration altogether. Our duty in such matters is to consult the Gods through the appointed channels of communication—that is, by means of oracles and the diviner's art. 'About things which are hidden,' he would say, 'we ought to inquire of the Gods by divination; for the Gods grant signs to those to whom they are gracious.' It follows that 'no one who wishes to manage a house or city with success, no one aspiring to guide the helm of the State aright, can afford to dispense with aid from above' (p. 337).

Pleaders in the law courts and statesmen before popular assemblies appealed with confidence to the popular faith. Thus, Andocides, accused of impiously violating the Mysteries, says, 'My accusers would have you believe that the Gods have brought me safely hither over the seas that I might be condemned by you. But I, gentlemen of the jury, do not think thus of the Gods: if they felt that I had wronged them, when they had caught me in the midst of dangers they would have avenged themselves on me. Then my person, my life, my property, were all at their mercy, yet they preserved me.' So Nicias, when his army was in desperate straits in Sicily, is reported by

Thucydides as quoting the punctilious religious observances of his past life, as an argument to inspire his soldiers with the belief that the Gods will help them in their extremity. As to the mass of the people, their faith was, in the heyday of philosophical scepticism, quite capable of being roused to fanaticism.

The laws against impiety (says Prof. Campbell) were maintained in their full strength, and men suspected of irreligious acts were virtually excommunicated. They could not assist at any sacred function, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries, except at the peril of their lives. This bore hardly upon those who in their early youth had been led by the champions of enlightenment to mock at sacred things, but who, as they advanced in years, felt the need of religious sympathy and the support of those common acts of worship which their fathers had shared, and in which those most near and dear to them profoundly believed. The danger of impiety was, of course, greatly aggravated by the fact that in the popular belief the very existence and safety of the state, the growth of the harvest and of the vintage, the fertility and soundness of the race, depended upon the right performance of certain acts of worship. Thus the spirit of fanaticism, when once awakened, was ruinous to all who defied it, and the danger was greatest in moments of popular excitement; for example, at that great moment, the turning point of the Athenian fortunes, when the ill-fated expedition, so brilliant at the outset, was on the point of sailing for Sicily. Then came the mutilation of the Hermae and the panic that followed. Although some features of that strange incident must ever remain obscure, the attentive study of what is known of it is essential to a right understanding of the general condition of thought and feeling with reference to religion in the later years of the fifth century—the last decade but one before the death of Socrates (*Religion in Greek Literature*, p. 297-8).

So again we find, as Mr. Rouse has shown so fully in his *Greek Votive Offerings*, that the temples were, through generation after generation, filled with tokens of recognition of the power of every known deity to bless and

save, with memorials of answers to prayer, with thank-offerings for restored health, for success in war, in hunting, in husbandry, in lawsuits, in athletic contests, in trade and manufacture, in all possible relations of life. Nay, even the philosopher and the dramatic poet, as a brilliant thinker has said,

Came not to destroy, but to fulfil; not to annihilate, but to transform the popular theology. Such an intention, strange as it may appear to us with our rigid creeds, we shall see to be natural enough to the Greek mind, when we remember that the material of their religion was not a set of propositions, but a more or less indeterminate body of traditions capable of being presented in the most various forms as the genius and taste of individual poets might direct. And we find, in fact, that the most religious poets of Greece, those even who were most innocent of any intention to innovate on popular beliefs, did nevertheless unconsciously tend to transform, in accordance with their own conceptions, the whole structure of the Homeric theology (Dickenson, *The Greek View of Life*, p. 49-50).

In Greece, as everywhere else, we find that the basis of religious influence is, not social expediency or obligations, but supernatural sanctions. The former an individual may (through power, wealth, or secrecy) think he may override or evade; against the latter he can never feel secure, if he retains any lurking belief at all. Hence it is to these that the final appeal is made by poets and by all who have influenced the general public. The philosopher appeals to men by the higher nature within them, the poet and the prophet by the stronger existences above them. And never in all the history of literature had poets so magnificent an opportunity of preaching righteousness, of justifying the ways of Heaven to men, of commending to their hearers whatsoever things are holy, pure, and eternally true; and never has a more noble use been made of that opportunity than by the great masters whose works have come down to us.

The opportunity was great in the hallowed dignity of

its attendant circumstances. It was not staled by familiarity; it came but once a year. Dramatic representation was no private venture; it was the crowning element of a great national religious rite: those who took part in it were, for the occasion, the consecrated servants of a God, and by his protection overshadowed. In front of the stage from which the actors spoke, and in the midst of the space in which the chorus moved, was his altar. The theatre stood on consecrated ground; it was a national temple, and the chosen dramatists were the national preachers; and so, in Dr. Adam's words, 'the representation of a tragedy was, in a true and proper sense, an act of public worship rendered by the state to one of its Gods.' But it was not Athens and her people alone who took part in this great religious festival, nor they alone whom the voice of the poet reached. The Greater Dionysia, the festival of which the tragedies were the living heart, was held in early spring, when deputies from other Greek communities thronged to Athens. The envoys of the subject-allies who had brought their tribute were there; ambassadors from all Hellene cities had places of honour assigned them, the members of the League of Delos, every one of name and standing in lands where the tongue of Greece was heard, was a guest in the city through those glorious days; and so these plays were declaimed and chanted, not to Athens only, but to all Ionia and to Greater Hellas.

The opportunity was great in the character of the audiences for whom these dramas were composed. Think what must have been the intellectual calibre of the thousands on thousands who made up that vast array, who could sit hour after hour, day after day, attentive to, keenly appreciative of, poetry which trod levels above which the brightest intellects of after ages have not climbed. Think what must have been the moral seriousness of a people who, not for a few years, but through generation after generation, followed the inspired thinkers who explored the deepest problems of humanity, of destiny, of sin and suffering, of

hearers who responded to appeals to all that was noblest in them, to their fear of Heaven, to their reverence for sanctities, to their respect for the eternal laws of justice, to their grasp of high ideals. Bear in mind that they not only endured to listen to these things, but stamped them with enthusiastic approval by popular acclamation, so that these dramas had with the general public a success more universal and more permanent than that gained by the most popular novels of our day. May we not be tempted to wonder, as we remember how 'dramatic successes' are obtained in these times, whether the most civilized races of earth have, in twenty-three centuries, really made much progress in the things that matter most to the growth of humanity?

It is not a little significant that it was to Aeschylus and Sophocles, in far greater measure than to Euripides, that the audiences awarded those hall-marks of supreme approval, the First Prizes. The two former took the old beliefs as they found them; they silently veiled or remoulded their grosser features, and purified and spiritualized what was of the essence of their faith, and so brought home to men its eternal lessons. Euripides voiced the unrest of faith, the strange doubts and obstinate questionings that disquieted thinking men: hence, though he became far more widely, perhaps more enduringly popular, men seemed to feel instinctively that, however much they might *like* him, they must not take on them to endorse his iconoclasm by setting on it the seal of national preference. It was glorious poetry; it stirred the human brotherhood within them; it opened the well-springs of sympathy and pity; it spoke out the thoughts that strove for utterance everywhere in such inspired music that the voice of honest doubt seemed as the whisper of an angel—yet—yet, the occasion was a great religious festival founded on the old unquestioning beliefs, and to crown the poet who shook the foundations of the simple faith of common men was a thing they could rarely bring themselves to do. And so it is Aeschylus and Sophocles who remain pre-eminent as

the great religious teachers who found for men light and leading in the old ways, and drew from the old creed spiritual and moral lessons which reveal to us how much of gold was mingled with the dross.

It is (says Dr. Adam) Sophocles who represents the climax of this movement on the part of Greek poetry : more than any other Greek poet, he seems to lay hold of whatever there is of divine and imperishable in the traditional faith of Greece, and consecrates it for all time in those incomparable dramas, which are the most perfect embodiment of the Hellenic genius at its best (p. 19).

Hence it is from Aeschylus and Sophocles that we propose now to gather instances of the religious teaching of the Greek drama, more especially as in a previous issue¹ we have somewhat fully shown how Euripides arrayed himself on the same side, though he did not always fight with the same weapons.

Aeschylus starts with the fundamental assumption that the accepted theology is so far true that no satisfactory substitute (neither the visionary's dream of a 'Supreme Intelligence,' nor the philosopher's fancy of a 'Measureless Vortex') has been, or can be, conceived. Yet, while never questioning the popular creed, he, unconsciously as it were, transforms, or rather, transfigures it; he presents it simplified and harmonized. The conflicts, jealousies, and intrigues of gods recede out of sight; the Olympians become an ordered hierarchy, whose personal elements are ever subject to, and sometimes merged in, the supreme Zeus, whose will is Justice and Fate, whose chief attribute is Retributive Vengeance, yet whose chosen name is the Saviour. In his conception of the Supreme God we seek in vain the anthropomorphism of the old epics: once, indeed, in an isolated fragment, we find the poet identifying him with the Soul of the Universe:

Zeus is the ether, Zeus the earth, Zeus heaven;
Yea, Zeus is all, and what is above all (frag. 379).

¹ October, 1904.

But in all extant plays he stops short on the threshold of speculation; for him the revealed Name suffices; all that lies behind that name is embodied in the attributes of Zeus, and these are manifested by his dealings with man :

Zeus—whate'er 'Zeus' expresseth of His essence—

If the name please him on the lips of prayer,
With this name on my lips I seek his presence,
Knowing none else I may with him compare.

Yea, though I ponder, in the balance laying
All else, no help save Zeus alone I find,
If I would cast aside the burden weighing,
All to no profit, ever on my mind.

(*Agam.* 160 sq.)

He is First Cause of all things :

Ah, 'twas done as He willed
Who is First Cause of all !
When is purpose fulfilled
Of man, save as thrall

Of Zeus?—what thing of all these did not He foreordain to
befall?

(*Agam.* 1468 sq.)

His purposes and acts are inscrutable :

That ancient saying declared aright—

'The purpose of Zeus no searcher may trace.'
To him all lieth bare in his own fierce light,
Though he shroud it wholly in blackness of night
From the prying eyes of the earth-born race.

The thing that Zeus by his nod hath decreed,
Though ye wrestle therewith, it shall ne'er be o'erthrown;
For through tangled ways and shadowy lead
The paths of the purpose that none may impede,
By no eye to be scanned, by no wisdom known.

(*Suppliants*, 85 sq.)

He is King of kings, omnipotent :

Hear, thou whose thoughts are from times eternal,
Zeus, blesser and blessed, Creator supernal !
Thou art throned where the lordship of none thou obeyest :
Beneath no stronger thy sceptre thou swayest :

None sitteth on high unto whom thou, brooking
His rule, art with reverence upward looking :
What purpose soever thy spirit conceiveth,
The deed as the word thine hand achieveth.

(*Suppliants*, 593 sq.)

His great attribute is Righteousness, which is manifested to men as Retributive Justice. Not that the poet, as Dr. Adam well points out, 'ignores the beneficent aspects of Justice.' If Zeus is the punisher of sin, he is also the rewarder of virtue :

He holds the balance true, apportioning
To men their fruits of righteousness or sin.

(*Supp.* 403-4.)

So, again :

They whose straight path righteousness prepares,
Fair is their lot, and goodly issue theirs.

(*Agam.* 761-2.)

But for one passage of this kind in Aeschylus (he continues) there are probably ten or more which proclaim the penalties of sin ; and that which gives its great distinguishing feature to Aeschylean drama is the unique and almost appalling emphasis with which the poet dwells upon this theme. He is above all things the prophet of retributive justice, calling to his fellows to be just and pious : for human action is irrevocable, and sin must ever be expiated by suffering (p. 145).

To this end Zeus's justice is sleeplessly vigilant :

Justice is watching, to humble
The haughty : her swift dooms smite
Some at midnight ; some stumble
On the marches of darkness and light
Ere the pangs long evaded, that followed
Aye, turn their bliss unto gall :
Some—have they escaped? They are swallowed
In night that ends all !

(*Choëphoroe*, 61 sq.)

The stroke of justice is, of course, provoked by sin ; but it is significant of the wide sweep of the moral purpose

of these poets, that the sins which they hold up before their audiences as bringing down fearful retribution were not the peccadilloes of life, the sins of thoughtlessness or weakness, which may indeed sap the moral fibre of the sinner, but do not inflict their consequences on the community: it was the sins which undermine society, those by which the transgressor is exalted, so that men are tempted to say, 'How doth God know, and is there knowledge in the Most High?' These are the sins of wealth and pride and power, the sins of those for whom law and public opinion have no terrors, the presumptuous sins of arrogance. Now, here we may note how the religious influence of the drama was enhanced by its choice of personages, the heroes and heroines of the heroic age, children of Gods, princes who were above law, warriors who were too strong for law, whose crimes and violences were amenable to no jurisdiction but that of divine justice, or to the decrees of that Fate which overrules the very Gods. Hence, in these plays the sinner stands unabsolved before the bar of Heaven, he has made expiation to no earthly tribunal; and so for the audience the lesson of individual responsibility is sharply drawn. This is the true ethical value of what is called the ideal (rather, the heroic) treatment.

Now, as the sons reaped the fruit of the lawlessness of their fathers in heritage of wealth and power, so it seemed in men's eyes only righteous that they should also reap the curse that clung to it. Hence, since, till the end of the age of the despots, pre-eminent prosperity was generally gained by trampling on the liberties and rights of others, the doctrine of the 'Jealousy of the Gods' arose, the axiom that prosperity in itself brought a Nemesis of doom; and on this Herodotus insists throughout his history. But Aeschylus, with clearer insight, distinguishes. In his view, the divine resentment has for its object, not the prosperity, but the sin, so that the 'Envy of the Gods' is only an expression for the divine Nemesis when directed against those in whom prosperity has engendered pride.

This is evident, not only from the pervading spirit of his drama, but also from the deliberate protest which he makes against this doctrine, in one of those relatively few places where he expressly challenges popular beliefs :

A saying of old—once known of all for wisdom's own—

Thus to men crieth :

' Great weal to fullness grown reaps even as it hath sown,

Nor childless dieth ;

Yea, fair prosperity

Aye bears for man one fated child of her womb, the unsated

Vampire Misery.'

But I alone stand, holding, as none other,

That Sin it is, the godless *act*, that bears

Spawn like itself, foul offspring of foul mother :

But they whose straight path righteousness prepares,

Fair is their lot, and goodly issue theirs.

(*Agam.* 750 sq.)

And though, through the overpowering pressure of the supernatural in his plays, he has seemed a fatalist, yet here too he proclaims no doctrine of inevitable doom. As Prof. Butcher has pointed out :

Not actual guilt, but the tendency to guilt is inherited. A man is master of his own fate ; he may foster the tendency, or he may resist it. An act of will is necessary to wake the curse into life. The chain of crime may at any point be broken, though the poet rather exhibits, for the most part, the natural continuity of guilt ; that, as crime engenders crime in the individual heart, so in a house the guilt of the fathers tends to lead the children into new guilt, and to extend itself over a whole race (*Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 116-7).

Thus, a king who hesitates to protect the oppressed, is warned :

Know, whatsoe'er your sentence, yonder

Stern justice waits : your sins one day

Such measure as ye mete shall pay.

Thou on Zeus' sentence therefore ponder,

And let the right have sway.

(*Suppliants*, 434 sq.)

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But such as choose the evil do the Gods thrust onward
to destruction. They send on them Atê, the Spirit of
Infatuation :

God sendeth strong delusions, and what mortal may evade
them?

And who with foot light-leaping may spring clear of the snare?
For Atê smiles, alluring men, until she hath betrayed them
Amidst her net : none breaks its meshes, once entangled there.
(*Persians*, 93 sq.)

And again :

For proud presumption's flower hath fruit
Infatuate sin, whose harvest is all tears.

(*Pers.* 752-3.)

Yet is man haled as with a chain,
By Atê's craft-resistless child,
Temptation, into sin beguiled.
What cure avails?—all, all are vain.

(*Agam.* 385 sq.)

For the sinner who has gone thus far there is no place for
forgiveness :

And no God heareth when he prays :
Nay, but the very God to whom
He kneeleth, him spurns to his doom
Who walketh in injustice' ways.

(*Agam.* 396 sq.)

The warning is urged with the more terrible emphasis,
in that, though for the tainted family there may be expia-
tion, albeit hardly won, the presumptuous sinner himself
must abide the vendetta of God and man :

' Ever the tongue of hate shall the tongue of hate requite :
Aye for the stroke of murder the stroke of murder shall smite :—'
Justice exacting her dues cries ringing-voiced this law.
' Doers must suffer '—so sayeth the immemorial saw.

(*Choëph.* 309 sq.)

A Law saith, ' Murder-drops of blood-libation
On earth spilt, cry for blood in expiation.'

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The Avenging Sprite shrieks, hastening Havoc on,
Which brings from graves of men dead long ago
Ruin to crown the work of ruin done.

(*Choëph.* 400 sq.)

The Erinyes, the avengers of unnatural sin, foretell the future judgement :

So shall all else that have transgressed,
Have sinned against a God, a guest,
Or parents, mark how each receives
The dues of sins that Justice gives.
For Hades 'neath the earth waits every soul,
A mighty judge who watcheth to enscroll
All sins on his eternal memory's roll.

(*Eumenides*, 269 sq.)

Law abideth everlasting : cunning are we and unfailing
Workers of its sentence, awful sin-recorders : unavailing
With us is prayer.

Onward ever press we, hasting to perform an office lacking
Honour, worship—yea, unlawful for the gods Olympian—
tracking

Paths of despair
Down through sunless darkness sloping : stumbling blindly,
blindly groping,
Sinners unbereft of sight, sinners death-bereft of light
Wander there.

(*Eumenides*, 381 sq.)

They mock at the overlate remorse of the transgressor :

He, shrieking forth his prayer
To heavens that hear not, there
'Mid whirlpits of despair,
Hellward descendeth.
God laughs at him, to see
His helpless agony—
Fool, who made boast, 'O'er me
No doom impendeth !'

(*Eumenides*, 558 sq.)

Hence, fear of judgement to come is a wholesome power
on the earth :

'Tis good that Fear yet lingering midst the nations
Somewhere should watch man's soul
Throned in the conscience, good that tribulations
Should teach men self-control.

(*Eumenides*, 517 sq.)

In none of these passages (remarks Dr. Adam) is there any hint that divine justice has regard to the interests of the criminal, but the poet more than once expresses the milder and more Sophoclean belief, that suffering is the way by which God leads men into knowledge (p. 155):

Zeus unto men the path of wisdom showeth:
This as the law of life doth he ordain—
'From suffering's root the flower instruction groweth.'
We sleep—but our heart waketh, seeth pain
Dropping from memory's wine-press; so is given
Wisdom to scholars loth to understand:¹
The Gods from thrones of majesty in heaven
Must force their boon into the unwilling hand.

(*Agam.* 175 sq.)

We have noted above how the poet speaks of retribution as acting through the judgements inflicted by the rulers of the underworld: it may also act through the power of the wronged dead to assist their living avenger:

My son, the spirit of the slain
No ravening jaws of death-bale fire
Destroy: he flasheth forth again,
Long after, lightnings of his ire.
Over the dead the keen is pealed;
And lo, his murderer stands revealed.
When fathers foully butchered die,
The wail for justice, shrilling high,
Follows the track of wrong to exact the penalty.

(*Choëph.* 324 sq.)

The great incantation-chant in the *Choëphoroe* is an expansion of the thought that 'men betrayed are mighty, and great are the wrongfully dead': it is one thrilling

¹ Compare *Job* xxxiii. 14.

appeal to the shade of Agamemnon to help his children to avenge him on his murderers.

If (says Dr. Adam) we ask what is the peculiar claim of Aeschylus to be regarded as a great moral and religious teacher, our reply, I think, must be, that more emphatically, perhaps, than any other ancient writer, he proclaims the government of the world by justice. . . . The predominant feature of Aeschylean tragedy was the extraordinary power displayed by the poet in grappling with the deepest problems of religion and life, such as the origin and propagation of sin, together with its effects on the individual, the family, and the state. More effectively, perhaps, than any other ancient poet, except Euripides, he makes us realize the contending forces that determine the destiny of man; and his own profound belief in the righteousness of Zeus hardly suffices to dispel in us the doubts which he awakens. In Sophocles, on the other hand, though he is by no means unconscious of the discordant elements in human life and destiny, the prevailing note is one of reconciliation, harmony, and peace (pp. 161, 163).

Dr. Adam says that of all the great Greek poets, Sophocles is, perhaps, the most religious. We can accept this view if we apply it in the strict etymological sense of the word, and look on religion as a constraining and restraining force, actuated, indeed, by belief, but working, not from without through fear, but within from the conscience, so that the *εὐσέβεια* of Sophocles has in a sense made of the man 'a new creature.' He questions no more than Aeschylus the existence of the Gods of tradition, nor yet their righteousness, and remains as untroubled as any average devout Athenian by the inconsistencies on which the philosophers lay such stress. But he has removed them farther off; their conflicting personalities are merged in a 'stream of tendency which makes for righteousness.'

'He seems,' says Dr. Adam, 'to have extended his outlook to the whole movement of human destiny, and to have seen therein the fulfilment of a single harmonious purpose, which is none other than the will of Zeus.' For

him, so far as control over human affairs is concerned, the Godhead is One. So strongly did he convey this impression to early Christian writers, that we find them attributing to him a fragment which, though modern scholars reject it as spurious, is yet significant as embodying the impression he made upon those who had access to far more of his writings than are now extant :

One God there is in truth : he framed high heaven,
Wide earth, the sea's dim depths, the mighty winds.
But men, with hearts by error aimless-driven,
Have reared, to comfort sorrow-burdened minds,
False gods of stone or wood, or statues golden
Or carved of ivory ! ' Behold,' man cries,
' I am godfearing !' after he hath holden
Vain festivals to these with sacrifice.

For him Zeus is the Eternal, the Most High :

Zeus, what proud deeds that man hath wrought thy power can
override?—
That power which Sleep o'ermastereth not, who snareth all
beside,
Nor heaven's years that tireless race : aged never by their
flight,
Thou dwellest 'mid the glory-space, Olympus' splendour-light.
(*Antigone*, 603 sq.)

He is the one stay and hope of the oppressed :

Take heart, my child, take heart ! Throned in the sky
Still mighty is Zeus : his eye
Far-looketh o'er the world, and ruleth it,
To him do thou commit
Thy soul-embittering wrong.

(*Electra*, 173 sq.)

Human happiness and suffering alike contribute to the
harmony of his providential plan :

My daughter, I praise not this thy despair—
In reverence I speak, yet I needs must reprove thee—
It beseems not to kill with the canker of care
All the patience of hope. Let this thought move thee :

The Son of Kronos, the King who doth reign
Over all, did never for mortals ordain
The law of a life exempt from pain;
But to all men gladness in turn and sadness
Come, even as the Bear with his great lights seven
Ever sweepeth his circle out through the heaven.

(*Trachiniae*, 136 sq.)

The precept, 'Be ye merciful, even as your Father in Heaven is merciful,' is anticipated in Sophocles:

Yet, ah yet, even by Zeus enthroned doth sit
Mercy for all sins; therefore let her stand,
Father, by thee!

(*Oed. Col.* 1267 sq.)

His righteousness is manifested in Law, and this not the law of statutes or ordinances of men, but that written on men's hearts:

May Fate bestow on me the meed
Of utter-reverent purity,
That wholly pure my thoughts may be,
And wholly pure my every deed!
Purity's stablished statutes tread
Empyrean heights: their birth thrilled through
The skies up to the stainless blue:
Their father is the Heaven far-spread.
No mortal parentage was theirs;
They shall not know oblivion's night;
In them abides the Highest's might
Whose deathless strength no time outwears.

(*Oed. Tyr.* 863 sq.)

These divinely appointed principles (says Dr. Adam) are represented by Sophocles as of prior obligation to every human law; and he has illustrated and enforced their paramount claims on our allegiance in what is perhaps the most beautiful and affecting of all his plays, the *Antigone*. The whole action of that drama turns upon the idea of a conflict between the law of God and the law of man. The rival principles come into the sharpest possible collision, with tragic consequences to the chief actors on both sides; but the poet leaves us in no doubt as to the path where Duty points (p. 166).

Thus he makes Antigone justify her defiance of a human ordinance :

'Twas never Zeus, I ween, proclaimed this thing,
Nor Justice, co-mate with the Nether Gods;
Not she ordained men such unnatural laws!
Nor deemed I that thine edict had such force,
That thou, who art a mortal, couldst o'erride
The unwritten and unswerving laws of Heaven.
Not of to-day and yesterday they are,
But everlasting : none can date their birth.
Was I to fear the wrath of any man,
And brave Heaven's vengeance for defying these?
(*Ant.* 450 sq.)

Thus this poet proclaims a new doctrine—which, had he developed it to its logical issues, as the Puritans did, would have been revolutionary—the doctrine of individual responsibility to God. It follows that not public expediency, not *force majeure*, not social custom, no, nor fate nor heredity, may be urged in justification of lapses from right. For Sophocles' view of sin differs from that of Aeschylus; in the latter sin is partly the work of fate, partly of heredity; only in the third degree is the actual sinner accountable, though he bears all the penalty. But in Sophocles the sinner is wholly to blame, as sinning against knowledge and unconstrained. Hence, as a natural corollary, he distinguishes between involuntary transgression and actual guilt, between the wrong and the wrong intention. As St. Paul says, 'So now it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me,' so Sophocles says :

In sin without intention is no guilt (frag. 604).

The whole play of the *Oedipus at Colonus*, coming as a sequel to *Oedipus the King*, is designed to enforce the doctrine that the most atrocious acts, if not wilfully committed (nay, even though they be not, in our sense, repented of, since Oedipus, with almost his last breath, actually justifies himself for killing his father), are compatible with reconciliation with Heaven, and final peace.

It is significant that in Sophocles neither Oedipus, who has killed his father in ignorance of the relationship, nor Orestes, who has killed his mother in obedience to an oracle, is pursued by the avenging Erinyes. Hence, while it is natural for Aeschylus to represent all suffering as the penalty of sin, Sophocles brings divine justice into line with the facts of life by insisting that the most grievous sufferings are compatible with the innocence of the victim. The whole play of the *Antigone* is a development of this view. So the verdict on Deianeira, through whose act her lord Herakles dies a death of fire, is :

One word sums all—she erred, with good intent.

(*Trachiniae*, 1136.)

Again, while suffering affords no presumption of sin, and therefore is not necessarily to be regarded as punishment, it follows that the good man who suffers ought not to murmur against Heaven, as though his sufferings were penal and undeserved. As Christ said, 'Neither did this man sin, nor his parents, but that the works of God might be manifested in him,' so the Greek poet recognizes that into the great harmony of the universe there may enter what may seem dissonances to those who can hear it but in part, and that which is felt here as evil may be among the all things that are working together for good. He illustrates the thought by the example of Philoctetes :

If aught I know of Heaven's intent,
From Heaven were those first sorrows sent;
So now in friendless pain he pines
Full surely by some God's designs,
Lest his god-given resistless bow
Should all too soon lay Ilium low,
Ere comes the hour when this, 'tis writ,
Shall hurl her down destruction's pit.

(*Philoctetes*, 191 sq.)

Even when penal suffering is impending, there is in Sophocles, for errors of human weakness, space for repentance :

Hereby, my son, be warned. To err is still
The common frailty of all humankind :
But, when we err, not senseless that man is,
Nor all unblest, who in his fall doth heal
The wrong, and is not fixed in stubbornness.

(*Antig.* 1023 sq.)

The sin that does make man an outcast from the mercy
of Heaven and from the sympathy of man is that which
is born of presumption :

He is an outcast, whose presumptuous daring
Moves him to be with sin confederate bound :
Never abiding by my hearth, nor sharing
Thoughts of my soul, be such transgressor found !

(*Ant.* 370 sq.)

On such is visited the judicial blindness of delusive hopes :

Hope—'tis a bird whose wandering wings to some bring
strength and trust ;
False lures to many a man it brings of hollow-hearted lust ;
He sees not Doom, the Gods' sleuth-hound, that follows ever
nigher,
Till crumbles 'neath his feet the ground into a gulf of fire.
The ancient sage in wisdom spake, ' Evil for good that man
will take,
Whose soul the mocking Gods beguile to tread in ruin's way :
Safe fares he for a little while—then the net traps the prey.'

(*Ant.* 615 sq.)

Sophocles, above all poets, seemed to his contemporaries
to have enjoyed an ideal life. In the words of the
epigram of Phrynichus :

Happy was Sophocles : many days were his
Crowned with Heaven's blessing, with all poet-skill ;
His hand wrote many noble tragedies ;
His end was peace ; his life had known no ill.

To him, if to any man, life must have seemed worth
living. Yet, in that great swan-song of his, what is his
verdict on it all ?—vanity and vexation of spirit !

What man soever craves a longer space
To live, because his life's one little race
Contents him not, he cleaves to folly's side:
I see the mask of folly on his face.

For length of days shall bring thee no more gain
Of joy, but plunge thee deeper into pain.

Pleasure?—thine eyes a vanished phantom seek,
If thou beyond thy fitting term attain.

Then—then draws nigh the last impartial friend,
When marriage-hymns, nor dance, nor lyres attend
The Doom of Hades dawning up thy sky,
With Death for morning-star—and there an end.

Never to have been born—aye, that were best!

But, once set forth upon life's hopeless quest

Of happiness, thy better part is this,

That, whence thou cam'st, thou soon return—to rest.

(*Oed. Col.* 1211 sq.)

As for the great hereafter, he shared with others shadowy
hopes of reunion with those loved on earth. Their clearest
expression is found in the words of Antigone:

Yet do I go in sure and certain hope
Of welcome from my sire, welcome from thee,
Mother, from thee dear welcome, brother mine!

(*Ant.* 897 sq.)

Through longer space

My dead ones must I pleasure, than the living,
For there shall I lie ever.

(*Ant.* 74 sq.)

Hardly less characteristic, perhaps (says Dr. Adam), is
the suggestion of immortality in the lines which, more
than any other single passage, express the religious teach-
ing of Sophoclean drama:

Remember this, to reverence the Gods;
Since all things else stand second in the eyes
Of Zeus. When men die, dies not fear of God:
Live they, or die they, this shall perish not.

(*Philoct.* 1440 sq.)

ARTHUR S. WAY.

JERUSALEM ANCIENT AND MODERN

Jerusalem. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D. Two vols. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1908.)

Ancient Jerusalem. By SELAH MERRILL. (Fleming H. Revell Company. 1908.)

Jerusalem. By DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN. (In *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1907.)

NO city of the world and no city of history gathers round it so many sacred associations as Jerusalem. It is only under the idealizing impulse of a patriotic enthusiasm that the Psalmist can call it 'beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth.' It is not to be named in the same breath with Edinburgh, Florence, Athens, Constantinople, or Rome for beauty of situation. Nor does it attain to the high antiquity of the mighty cities which have been dug up during the last sixty or seventy years from the soil of Babylonia and Egypt, many millenniums old. Yet from the days of Melchizedek and Abraham, through the eras of David and Solomon, of Hezekiah and Isaiah, of Ezra and Nehemiah, of Judas Maccabaeus and his gallant brothers, to the days of Christ, and thence through apostolic times, through the period of Constantine, through Moslem invasion, through the Crusades, and through Turkish domination to the present day, Jerusalem has had a crowded history, and more hearts turn to it as the Sacred City of the world than to any other under the sun.

To the Jew, Jerusalem is the city hallowed above all others by the patriarchs, kings, and righteous men of his nation—the place which more than any other gathers into a focus God's gracious revelations of Himself to His people and to the world. Even to this day it is the

centre of his dearest hopes, for wherever throughout the world the Jewish people keep the solemnities of their great Day of Atonement, they shout as they bring the observance to a close, 'Next year in Jerusalem.' To the Moslems it is the Holy City where stood the throne of David and the temple of Solomon, the object of pilgrimage and the place of prayer, where the Prophet ascended to heaven, and where men will be gathered in the day of resurrection. To the Christian it is consecrated above all by memories of the God-man, who visited its ancient temple, trod its streets, preached to its multitudes, instituted the Last Supper in one of its homes, was condemned by its religious chiefs, and crucified on Golgotha without its walls, was buried and rose again from Joseph's tomb. In the Garden of Gethsemane close by, He endured the agony and bloody sweat; at Bethany, two miles distant, He raised Lazarus from the dead, and proclaimed Himself the Resurrection and the Life; and from Olivet, with the city full in view, He took His departure at last to heaven.

Jerusalem by situation and surroundings is a mountain city. It occupies a site about 2,500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, on a ridge of the great central range which forms the backbone of Palestine. The ridge on which the city stands breaks up here into two fingers or spurs, the western higher and more spacious, the eastern lower and more limited; with a valley, now rendered shallow by accumulations of *débris*, running between them, known as the Tyropoeon. The city must always have been a place of great strength. On its western, southern, and eastern sides, it presents to an invader steep and almost inaccessible ramparts of natural defence. The northern side is comparatively level, and alone offers scope for the extension of the city, or for the near approach of an enemy. Titus, Pompey, the Egyptian and Syrian kings, and the armies of Babylon and Assyria, all approached the city from the north. With its wall, encircling what represents the ancient city, still without a break, and rising to a height of thirty or forty feet,

Jerusalem, seated on its hills, has even now a look of regal dignity. It is seen to great advantage from the heights south of the city rising from the Wady-en-Nar, though the ordinary tourist has seldom time for this. But from the summit of the Mount of Olives, or from the spot on the Bethany road, where the city most likely burst upon the view of Jesus on the occasion of His triumphal entry, the view is singularly impressive. From the latter point it is seen lying with a slope towards the south-east, girt with the wall on all its sides, and with its houses and mosques and domes and towers compactly built together. There is now, it is true, a new Jerusalem outside the walls to the west and more particularly to the north, which has considerably altered the appearance of the city within the last twenty years.

Not only was Jerusalem in former times a place of great strength, it must always have been difficult of access to an invading force. It lay, as Dr. George Adam Smith well points out, remote from the great trade routes and military highways of the Eastern world. It was along the Maritime Plain of Palestine that armies from the North and even from the East, as a rule, would advance. There are now forty miles of railway from Jaffa, a distance which the train covers in about four and a half hours. It was through the very pass which the railway traverses to reach the plateau that the Philistines would go up to the Plain of Rephaim on the edge of which the railway-station of Jerusalem stands. But the old carriage road through the pass of Bethhoron gives a better idea of the difficulties to be surmounted by an invader, for Bethhoron itself was the scene of many battles. Ascending from the Mediterranean through the plain of Sharon from the port of Jaffa, the traveller has the mountain ridges of Ephraim and Judah like moated walls rising before him, and as he goes down into the valleys and again climbs the heights, always though slowly ascending, he realizes the difficulties which the Crusaders experienced on their way to the Holy City. There are many points at which an invader

could be effectually held in check, and there are any number of natural fortresses which have to be scaled before Jerusalem could be reached and attacked. It is in this feature of the situation that we have the explanation of the words of the Psalmist, 'As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about His people from henceforth even for ever' (Ps. cxxv. 2).

Visitors are often disappointed with the first view of the Holy City. They are sometimes grievously disappointed with a first visit, and require a second or a third to take in the fascination, and rise to a due appreciation of its marvellous associations and history. Yet there can be few who even at the first glimpse of the city do not feel impressed by a certain majesty and dignity which belong to its very site, and few who are not ready to acknowledge that it is at least unique among the cities of the world. As the visitor at nightfall sets foot within the walls on attaining the long-cherished goal of his pilgrimage, he is met by much that is strange to Western ideas and to preconceived notions of his own. And, perhaps, nothing will seem more strange at first than the great silence which, with the early sunset and the rapidly descending darkness, falls upon the city. All work and business are ended, the unlighted thoroughfares are deserted, the pilgrims have sought their khans and hospices, and everywhere silence reigns, till the voice of the muezzin, with the first streaks of dawn, calls tremulous and clear from the minarets to the slumbering multitudes, 'Prayer is better than sleep. There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is His prophet.'

It is at Easter that Jerusalem has its largest concourse of visitors; Jews, to keep the Passover within the walls of the city of their fathers, and Christians to witness the ceremonies in remembrance of the Resurrection in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Of these the most conspicuous is the Holy Fire of the Greek Celebration, attended by thousands belonging to the Orthodox Greek Communion, and by multitudes besides, who crowd the vener-

able sanctuary in every part. It is for these spectacles and observances that travelling facilities are offered by the numerous tourist agencies. But the disadvantages and inconveniences caused by the crowds at that season are great. Pentecost, which comes some weeks later, offers far greater advantages for leisurely and reverential study of the city and its holy places and surroundings. It is still observed by Jews 'out of every nation under heaven'—from Russia, Central Asia, and the other side of the Atlantic. On the two days of the Feast, besides the Sabbath, all business in the Jewish quarter is suspended, and crowds of gaily dressed Jews in families and in parties spend the day on the outskirts of the city, some of them exploring such memorials as the Tombs of the Kings, and others stretched under the olive-trees at the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat and rejoicing in the warm, bright sunshine. At Jerusalem, 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, the heat is not excessive in May and the first weeks of June, and visitors can do a good deal of sight-seeing without serious risk to health. They can then have the choice of the best rooms in hotels and *pensions* at moderate tariffs, the pick of the native guides, and the advantage of the leisure of consuls and missionaries and other residents, who are always so willing to impart of their stores of historical and antiquarian lore.

Dr. Masterman, in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, gives an excellent compendious survey, and shows himself familiar with the problems, which he has studied on the spot. Extravagant estimates are still made as to the population of Jerusalem, just as exaggerated statements are to be found in Josephus and other ancient writers. Dr. Masterman's estimate is one which would command the assent of those who have the best means of knowing. 'The total population of the city,' he says, 'cannot have been large, and the numbers given by Josephus and Tacitus are manifestly exaggerated. The present permanent population of Jerusalem, which covers a considerably larger area than the city in the time of

Christ, is about 65,000. However closely the people were packed in the ancient city, it is hardly possible that there could have been so many as this; and many put the estimate at one-half this number. At the time of the Passover, when numbers were encamped on the Mount of Olives and at other spots around, it is possible to believe that the population may have been considerably higher than that of to-day' (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 857).

The work of the late Dr. Selah Merrill on *Ancient Jerusalem* is a veritable storehouse of materials relating to the history, the site, the walls, the public buildings and monuments, the water supply, and social condition of the city during the period closing with the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple by Titus in 70 A.D. There are frequent glances backwards as far as Nehemiah; and there are necessarily copious references to sites and streets and public buildings of the city to-day, and many illuminating passages describing modern conditions and changes out of the author's reminiscences extending over thirty or more years. The title-page states that Dr. Merrill has been sixteen years American consul in Jerusalem. In that responsible office he has been to visitors from all parts of the world a most helpful exponent of the antiquities of the city—not confining his courtesies to his American fellow countrymen, but making all and sundry his debtors. In Jerusalem exploration and excavation he has been a fellow labourer with the late Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, the late German architect Schiek, and others, and has been cognizant of their views. Along with the two first named of these authorities, he mentions Dr. George Adam Smith in the dedication of the volume as a warm personal friend and fellow worker. It is peculiarly instructive to read the two works together and compare the views—quite as often divergent as otherwise—which they severally express on disputed sites. Whilst Dr. G. A. Smith's two volumes bristle with footnotes and constant references to authorities, Dr. Merrill's

work is entirely without footnotes or bibliographical details. Dr. Smith furnishes the reader with a goodly number of excellent photographs and plans and maps, but Dr. Merrill's work is profusely illustrated with beautifully executed photographs, and its lucidity and attractiveness enhanced by over fifty plans. Books on Jerusalem, Dr. Merrill somewhat caustically observes, multiply, but of authorities there are few. His chief authority apart from the Bible is Josephus, whose accuracy and veracity as a historian have manifestly impressed him. Besides these literary sources, he has studied the ground, examined the levels, observed and recorded the variations of surface, visiting, in some cases repeatedly, every elevated point—minarets, housetops, churches, synagogues—which could afford any help in understanding the contour of the city. 'I have conversed freely,' he adds, 'with many persons, compared notes with different investigators, discussed views and theories with those who appeared to be competent in these matters, and I have lived to put the notes and observations into definite form, hoping they may be of service.' Truly a modest claim, and one does not read far before one feels that Dr. Merrill does not overrate his title to be heard.

Dr. Merrill in his opening chapters describes the advance of Titus to prosecute the siege of Jerusalem early in 70 A.D. He defines the situation of Scopus, where the Roman commander first pitched his camp, and lucidly sets forth, according to his observations and judgement, the course of the third, or Agrippa's, wall. In his plans relative to the commencement of the siege, he shows the disposition of the Roman legions around the city. One of these was the renowned Tenth Legion. Early in the siege its camp was pitched on the Mount of Olives, on the very spot where the Russian convent now stands, as is proved by the tiles bearing the legionary stamp, Leg. X. FR., found when the convent was being built. When the city had been taken, Titus left the Tenth Legion as a garrison among the ruins, instead of sending it back

to the Euphrates Valley where it had won renown. The position of their new camp is defined by Josephus as having a portion of the west wall left by Titus to serve as a protection to the garrison. That the location is correct has been proved again by the discovery of tiles, and more strikingly by the find of the shaft of a column bearing an inscription in honour of the Augustan legate, Marcus Junius Maximus. The monument shows that it was erected by the Tenth Legion. The piece of the column with the inscription now forms the pedestal of an ornamental street lamp, in the court just outside the door of the Grand New Hotel, and close to the place where it was found when the foundations of the hotel were being prepared. Titus left standing in the captured city Herod's three great towers, Hippieus, Phasael, and Mariamne, and it was in close proximity to them that the legionary camp was established. As the old site of Hippicus is just within the wall close to the Jaffa gate, the visitor the moment he sets foot within the city is in the midst of memorials carrying him back to the time of Christ.

Much attention is devoted by Dr. Merrill to the course of the ancient walls, and possibly his investigations, together with those of Dr. George Adam Smith, are the most authoritative we at present possess. His chapter on 'Rock and Quarries about Jerusalem' is singularly instructive and convincing. He feels that his prolonged study and repeated examination of the stonework entitle him to speak with confidence when he classifies sections of the present wall according to the character of the stones, and even assigns the stones to the period to which they belong. In this connexion he exhibits a plan showing where Hebrew stones still exist in large numbers; and not content with this, he has provided a number of exquisitely reproduced photographs, which make his readers take the place of spectators, able to judge of the various characters of the stones for themselves. He shows a portion of the present north wall, where the majority of the stones

belong to the Hebrew period, and where the bottom layer is in its original position, and of great antiquity.

His study of the walls has, however, a very practical bearing upon the question, which is of perennial interest, as to the place of the crucifixion and burial of Christ. The trend of opinion of recent years has been away from what was called Gordon's Calvary and the Garden Tomb, and back to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The difficulty about the acceptance of the latter site is that it is within the city, whereas Jesus suffered 'without the gate,' and 'in the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre.' If it could be shown that the second wall of Jerusalem, which was at that time the outer wall of the city, ran inside of the area covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, then much of the difficulty would be removed. Ruins, and even remains of walls, have recently been found in the neighbourhood, and claims of great antiquity have been made on their behalf. Whatever these may have been Dr. Merrill is confident that they cannot have belonged to a city wall, and his own line of the second wall follows a course which still leaves the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre within the city. In his chapter entitled 'Basilica,' in which he refers to the silence of Eusebius on the subject of Golgotha and the tomb of Christ, he expresses himself on this subject in wise and weighty words: 'As to the preservation of Joseph's tomb, it is beyond human reason and experience to suppose that anything remained intact after the wild ruin of 70 A.D., or that of 135 A.D., to say nothing of the unnumbered commotions, attended with the destruction of life and property, which visited Jerusalem during the three centuries between A.D. 30 and A.D. 330.' On this question Dr. George Adam Smith is practically in agreement with Dr. Merrill. 'The question of the second wall,' he says, 'involves that of the site of Calvary and the Sepulchre of our Lord. It may disappoint some readers that I offer no conclusion as to this. But after twenty-seven years'

study of the evidence, I am unable to feel that a conclusion one way or other is yet possible, or perhaps ever will be possible.' This is the finding also of the late Rev. Dr. Thomson of the *Land and the Book*, of the late Sir Charles Wilson, and many others of the foremost authorities; and although some will grieve to lose the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and others to be deprived of the Garden Tomb, the evidence in the meantime admits of no other conclusion.

To many it will be a disappointment to learn on Dr. Merrill's authority that the Royal Quarries, near the Damascus Gate, were not the source from which the stones of Solomon's Temple were taken. It has been maintained, since these extraordinary subterranean quarries were discovered, that here Hiram's masons and stone-squarers prepared the stones, so that 'there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building' (1 Kings vi. 7). The tradition that these quarries supplied the stone Dr. Merrill pronounces 'pure fiction.' A comparison of the large stones still left in the remains of the temple wall with the rock in the caverns, seems to confirm his view. The rock in the quarries is partly *kakouli*, a white, soft, easily cut stone, but chiefly *meleki*, stone a degree harder; whilst all the original large stones in the wall of the temple area are some variety of *misseh*—a hard and durable stone, which takes a good polish. This is conclusive against what was a favourite identification.

An interesting question which has a bearing upon the Gospel narrative is raised by Dr. Merrill—whether the procurators of Judaea, of whom Pontius Pilate is best known to us, had a palace of their own in Jerusalem. There was in the time of Christ no lack of palaces. There was the palace of Herod the Great, that of the Asmonean family occupied at the last by Herod Agrippa II and Bernice; those of Helena, Grapte, Monobazus, and the high-priest; and the military palace in the Tower of Antonia. The procurators were wont to reside at

Caesarea, and only visited Jerusalem at the time of the great annual feasts of the Jews, when disturbances arose which the procurator had to quell. Whilst Dr. Merrill gives no dogmatic finding on the subject, he evidently considers it likely that the procurators had no palace, but occupied quarters in the Castle of Antonia, where were the barracks of the Roman legion in occupation. He illustrates the subject by a reference to modern practice. 'Of the ten or more nations represented in Jerusalem by consuls at the present time (1903), only two own a consular residence, and until recently there has been but one. The terms of service here are usually brief; these officers do not wish to buy houses for themselves, even if they were able, for they might have to leave them immediately, and the respective Governments do not purchase houses for them. Still the consuls reside in Jerusalem, which the procurators did not pretend to do.'

The Castle of Antonia, which is one of the undisputed sites of the Holy City, and is now occupied by a Turkish garrison, has associations with the history of St. Paul and with the Passion of our Lord. If Antonia was the official head quarters of the Roman procurators when they had occasion to visit Jerusalem, then it was 'the praetorium' where Jesus was condemned by Pilate, where He was mocked and spit upon by the Roman soldiery, and from which He was led forth to crucifixion. Some scholars, including Dr. Schürer and Professor Sanday, think that it was rather at Herod's palace that these things took place, but the Castle of Antonia was more likely the scene of those closing acts in the awful tragedy of the Cross.

On one of the great questions of disputed site, Dr. Merrill's views are energetically at variance with those of Dr. George Adam Smith—the exact location of Mount Zion. The two views are clearly stated by Dr. Smith in the sixth chapter of his first volume. The opinion received from the time of Josephus and held generally till a few years ago, is that the south-west hill 'was not only an integral part of the city from before the

days of David, but contained also the citadel he captured from the Jebusites, and remained the centre of political and military power under the kings of Judah.' The opposite view is that Zion and the city of David 'lay on the east hill on the part called Ophel, just above the Virgin's Spring; that Mount Zion came to be the equivalent in the Old Testament of the Temple Mount; that the location of the city of David by the present Jaffa gate was due to an error by Josephus, and that there is no trace of the name Zion being applied to the south-west hill till we come some way down the line of Christian tradition.' The latter view, as Dr. Smith shows in his sketch of the history of opinion on the subject, has been adopted by many of the most competent authorities, and is maintained by himself with a wealth of modern knowledge and biblical scholarship, which it is not easy to resist. When, however, it is claimed, as it sometimes is, though not by Dr. Smith, that this view has entirely won the day, this is just a way that some advocates of novel theories have of speaking when a certain amount of support or certain great names have been gained for them. The strong point of the supporters of the new view is that the east hill alone has a living spring in the Virgin's Fountain to serve for a water supply, and that here the primitive occupants would fix their abode and rear their protecting fortress. The west hill, or Zion, has no such spring, and is therefore less likely to have been the site of the Jebusite stronghold. Still, the force of this argument is weakened by the twofold consideration that fortresses and ancient towns are found which have had no command of spring water, and that remains of rock-hewn cisterns have been found on Zion. And there is the consideration that the very name Zion, or Sion, in the judgement of the old lexicographers and etymologists meant 'dry places,' and although Dr. Smith seeks another etymology and considers that it may mean 'protuberance,' and so 'fort' or 'citadel,' he fails to convince. It is, however, impossible here to reproduce the discussion on the one side or the

other. Dr. Merrill's facts and reasoning go far to disprove the east hill theory of Zion; and he contends that Zion, the city of David, Millo, and Acra were one and the same place. He seems to be more successful in the destructive part of his argument than in the constructive, where it is not easy to follow him. Between the two disputants, who write with ample knowledge and great cogency, there will be some, perhaps many, convinced by neither, who will still be content with the old view, and identify Mount Zion with the south-west hill.

Whilst Dr. George Adam Smith's massive and scholarly volume, which received appreciative notice in the July issue of this REVIEW, will for years to come be the standard work on the topography and economics and history of ancient Jerusalem down to the time of its destruction by Titus, no part of the work is more to be admired than the treatment of the 'economics and politics' in the first volume. This is ground which Dr. Smith has already traversed in his volumes on *Isaiah* and *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*.

Only on one subject under this head is there room to dwell. It is the subject of water. 'Preliminary to war, worship, trade, and every kind of art,' says Dr. Smith, 'woven through them all and—on those high and thirsty rocks—more constant than any, was the struggle for water.' Jerusalem, throughout its whole history, has been, and is to this day, very much a waterless city. There is probably only the one spring—the Virgin's Fountain—within its entire circuit, and Dr. Merrill insists strongly that the supply from this source must always have been meagre. The Pool of Siloam is fed from it by an underground tunnel, most likely constructed, as the Siloam inscription discovered in 1880 seems to indicate, in the reign of Hezekiah. The pools of upper and lower Gihon still exist to the west of the city, and to the former of these, the Birket Mamilla, Dr. Merrill thinks that the water gathered from the wide slopes and hillsides to the west and north-west of the city must have flowed. There

are the Pools of Hezekiah, Bethesda and others, with cisterns built by private citizens or connected with public buildings, to store the rains which fall in the season. But there are four months, May, June, July, and August, when not a drop of rain falls. Many a summer water has to be bought at famine prices. The supplies thus furnished are obtained from peasants, who bring it in from the country villages, sometimes at a considerable distance, in waterskins. This lack of water must always have offered to the inhabitants and to their rulers a problem of serious concern. Miles away among the hills of Judah are the huge pools said to have been built by Solomon, which are to this day the admiration of visitors; but the aqueducts which were led with great engineering skill along the sides of the intervening hills to the city and the temple, are now largely in ruins. And not only is the city itself so waterless, but the hills of the Judæan wilderness, which close in upon it from the south and the east, are destitute of springs, indeed are bare and desolate as if blasted by the curse of God. The sunshine, which for months together beats down upon those stony and unproductive hillsides from a cloudless sky, burns up every green thing, and gives nothing back but a blinding and intolerable glare. In these features lie the beauty and force of the invitation, 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money and without price.' So, too, the Vision of the Holy Waters in Ezekiel is thoroughly understood on the spot. To Ezekiel, who was priest as well as prophet, as he had fulfilled the duties of his office, and looked forth from the temple platform upon the desert stretching south and east towards the Dead Sea, that scene of sterility and desolation must have been very familiar. A transformation which would clothe those wastes with life and verdure, which would fill the rugged gorges of Hinnom and the Kedron around the city with shady groves and gurgling streams, which would even sweeten the bitter waters of the Dead Sea and make them the

abode of living things, would be to Ezekiel and his fellow exiles in Babylon the most grateful that could be conceived.

Not only is water a scarce commodity, but the materials for fuel are not apparent. Hewers of wood and drawers of water are alike indispensable to the domestic life of the people, not to speak of industries or manufactures which contribute so much to refinement and comfort. There are olive and fig trees in increasing abundance, but of timber within a considerable area around the Holy City there is a rapidly diminishing supply, and consequently a growing scarcity even of charcoal for cooking purposes among the poor. No doubt petroleum is largely in use in the homes of the well-to-do, and in such industries as exist. And coal is now more easily conveyed to the city, since the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway was opened. But in the present condition of the harbour of Jaffa, the unloading of coaling vessels is a perilous and expensive business. The merchants of the city, Greeks, and others, are not without enterprise, and now that Jerusalem, like other cities of the Turkish Empire, comes under the new constitution, energy will find greater encouragement and the investment of capital a surer return.

Of the present-day inhabitants of Jerusalem much might be written. The Moslem population appears to be stationary, and little touched by the progress of the modern world. The Jews have increased within the last twenty years, till now they must be more than half of the whole population. They have established prosperous colonies to the north and west of the city, and they have resumed the use of the ancient biblical Hebrew in many circles as their spoken tongue. Zionism is strong among them, and as far as Jaffa westwards, and Hebron and even Beersheba southwards, there are Jewish banks for its promotion. There are still numbers, however, who do no work, but live and use their wits upon the benevolence of their co-religionists in Europe. The Christians and the Moslems divide the non-Jewish population in about equal numbers between them. But Christianity, in the city of

its baptism on the day of Pentecost, is far from lovely. Oriental Christianity especially appears wholly impotent for the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people. There are Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Syrian patriarchs, and any number of archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries of old historic churches and sects. But brotherly love is grievously lacking. The Roman Catholics and the Orthodox Greek Christians live at almost deadly feud. No wonder that spiritual power is absent. It is reckoned that in all there are about 5,000 'religious people' in Jerusalem—the dignitaries just mentioned, the clergy who conduct the numerous services, the members of the various orders of monks and nuns engaged in teaching, in works of charity and the like, and those who take part in processions of various kinds, and those who are devoted to prayer and meditation, and are perhaps absolutely secluded from their fellows, who either never see the face of man, or never exchange a word with a human being. Despite this vast agency, a large proportion of the native population live in a condition of ignorance and degradation, which is deplorable. Another Pentecost is needed to bring together the separated fragments, to draw the dry bones together, to put sinews and flesh upon them as in Ezekiel's vision, and then to put breath into them that they may stand up upon their feet an exceeding great army and a mighty force for the kingdom of God. And yet there are bright spots to those who care to see—the beautiful hospital and medical mission of the London Jews Society, the first medical mission hospital instituted anywhere; the St. George's Training College for rearing up native evangelical clergy, under the immediate care of Bishop Blyth; the schools of the Church Missionary Society and the London Jews Society; the Lutheran Church, and the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses; and last, but not least, Christ Church on Mount Zion, where Presbyterians and Nonconformists from both sides of the Atlantic join in refreshing worship with their brethren of the Church of England.

What of the future of Jerusalem? The prophets do not lift the veil to show clearly its wonderful destiny. But great as has been its glory in the past, greater, we believe, is the glory that is to come. 'What strange pictures of royal grandeur,' says Dr. Merrill, 'of military display, of famine, of suffering and death are presented to our gaze as the solemn pageant of thirty centuries moves by! Truly this is the most interesting city on the globe. Its tragic and thrilling history is now ended; its glory has passed, its millions of dead are silent, and are remembered no more, and its old walls, which have so long absorbed our attention, are fast crumbling away. But Olivet, from the east, noble, stately, beautiful, as it catches the morning and evening light, tirelessly watching over this sacred dust and these inspiring ruins, reminds us of scenes and events which once took place on its summit, and which kindle in our minds the uplifting hope that at last war and strife will cease, righteousness become the law of nations and of men, and the earth be filled with the glory of its King.'

THOMAS NICOL.

POLITICS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

WHEN the heads of the leading American universities met in Washington a few years ago to draw up a scheme of suggestions for the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships, their first resolution was a unanimous recommendation that politics should be ignored in making the awards. That such a resolution should be thought necessary casts an interesting sidelight on the normal relation of politics to education in the United States. The English teacher is often tempted to envy the American for his freedom from the ecclesiastical complications which mar the efficiency of our educational system; but the American teacher, in his turn, would have good reason for congratulating English schools on their independence of the party 'machine.'

At a first glance American education would appear to be further removed than English from the strife of parties. It demands scarcely any attention either at the White House or at the Capitol. It is never an issue either at Presidential or at Congressional elections. There are no speculations in the press as to the 'educational policy' of prominent politicians. Congress has passed no important measure affecting national education since, by the Morrill Act of 1862, it apportioned among the States and Territories ten million acres of land for the benefit of agricultural and mechanical colleges. The autonomy of the several States relieves the Federal Congress of the burden of educational legislation which so sorely taxes the British Parliament, except as regards the schools of the District of Columbia, the Territories, and the over-sea colonies. The Congressman, then, has no educational 'lobbyist' to pacify unless it be an occasional partisan of certain local interests of the City of Washington itself. So, too, there is no American 'Whitehall' to which a submissive nation

looks for codes. Officially, education is recognized only as a 'Bureau' forming one section of the Department of the Interior. Its head is not a Cabinet Minister, but a Commissioner, whose services in the collection and distribution of information are, indeed, of the highest value, but whose control is limited to the disbursement of the Morrill land grants and the management of the educational affairs of Alaska. The administration of education in the remaining places for which Congress directly legislates is distributed among other Government offices—the War Department, for instance, being the educational authority as regards the Philippines.

On the whole, then, education and Federal politics have no concern with one another. Let us now turn our attention to the States. The English reader needs, perhaps, to be reminded not only that the American State is a much larger unit in size and population than an English county, but that a State Government is essentially different from a County Council in that its powers are not delegated but inherent. Each State may have precisely what educational legislation and administration it likes, provided that it does not come into conflict with the Federal Constitution. That Constitution contains not the slightest direct reference to education, and practically the only restraint upon the States in this connexion is a limitation as to methods of taxation. Accordingly, in international comparisons we should not set Westminster by the side of Washington, but should think of the various State capitals, in each of which complete authority over public education is exercised by a State Legislature modified by the Governor's veto. This wide jurisdiction affords ample opportunity for the mixture of education and politics both in legislation and in the appointment of administrative officers.

In almost every State there is either a State University or some institution of higher industrial education enjoying the benefit of the Morrill grant and under public control. Whether its governing body is mainly appointed by the State Governor or elected by popular vote—that is to say,

by a party caucus—the atmosphere in which it deliberates is far from being purely academic. Even the head of the University faculty often finds it difficult to maintain a serenely neutral position. In the beginning of 1904 there was trouble in Nebraska on the acceptance by the University Regents, or governing body, of a gift from Mr. Rockefeller, and the Chancellor, Dr. E. B. Andrews, was severely criticized in the Omaha papers for his action in the matter. Now, this was the explanation offered by an evidently well-informed special correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*:

The reason for this attack upon Chancellor Andrews appears to be political revenge. Nebraska Bryanism is apparently trying to punish the man whom a board of regents, supposedly in sympathy with it, elected in 1900, but who, it feels, has forsaken it. . . . A faction of the Fusionists got disgruntled because the Chancellor failed to live up to what they regarded as his bounden duty—drag the University into politics by ousting Republicans among the faculty and employees. . . . The Chancellor did not commit his capital offence, however, until about a year ago, when, in a class-room lecture, he referred to the recent enormous yearly output of gold as contrary to the geologists' prophecy, which had led all economists, himself among the number, astray. For declining to give the assurance that he would vote for free silver if the question came up again, Populist and Democratic papers have never forgiven him. Of their first opportunity since then for hitting back they are now taking advantage.

A little later in the same year the *New York Tribune* reported that the resignation of the President of the University of Iowa was demanded by the Governor of that State on the ground that he had been employing 'improper lobbying methods.' It was alleged that in the last two Legislatures 'the University lobby was in alliance with the Consolidated Railroad lobby for mutual benefit, the railroads helping the University get appropriations, and the University lining up its friends to help the railroads.' In February 1905 it was generally stated in the press that

the President of the University of South Dakota was being forced to retire. He had been appointed, it was said, by a board of Populist regents, against the wish of the Republican machine, and the subsequent election of a Republican Legislature had made his position untenable. It would need an intimate acquaintance with the political conditions of the three States above mentioned to enable one to pronounce on the correctness of these representations—the fact that each of the Presidents assailed is still in office tells us no more, of course, than that they received stronger backing than their assailants—but the publication from time to time, in newspapers of the highest reputation, of such items of University news is sufficient evidence that the State Universities are not remote from the contentions of party politics. The statements occasionally made by responsible educational leaders support this conclusion. In an elaborate address given by Dr. E. J. James, now President of Illinois University, at his inauguration as President of North Western University in 1902, it was admitted that instances had occurred of the 'malign influence' of politics upon the control of State Universities, and it was further incidentally mentioned that the president of such a university 'must know how to impress the Legislature'—a statement of no little significance to those who are aware by what means State Legislatures are most effectively impressed.

Universities and colleges established by private endowment have fewer points of contact with the State Government. In almost all States they are entirely or partly exempt from taxation, and in certain instances they receive subventions. The striking novel, *Aliens*, by Mrs. Mary Tappan Wright, daughter of a university president and wife of a university professor, shows how a university not under public control may yet suffer a considerable impairment of its independence through the necessity, for financial reasons, of keeping on good terms with the dominant party in the State.

As far as primary and secondary education is con-

cerned the authority of the State is mainly exercised through an official usually entitled the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. His functions are largely those of a chief inspector. Whether directly elected by the people, or appointed by the State Board, he is a nominee of a Republican or Democratic convention. In some of the most important States men have been appointed to this office whose previous career has been entirely political. Even New York State within the present century has enjoyed the services of a State Superintendent who entered its Education Department as Deputy Superintendent straight from an apprenticeship of eight years in Assembly and Congress, and who, it was commonly believed, continued to show his devotion to his party by levying contributions to its campaign funds upon the Normal School Principals within his domain.

The educational legislation of the States is mainly non-partisan. Laws making school attendance compulsory, establishing the minimum scholastic qualifications of teachers, and laying down certain conditions to be observed by the local educational authorities, do not arouse the fighting instincts of either Republican or Democrat, nor do they offer any tempting opportunity to the 'spoilsman.' A curious exception is the direct control sometimes exercised over the historical teaching in both colleges and schools. As a rule the Legislature pays no further attention to the text-books in use than by providing how often it shall be permissible for the State or local boards of education to change them.¹ But sometimes the strength

¹ It may be of interest to quote from a speech delivered early in 1905 in the Senate of Indiana during the discussion of a proposal, ultimately carried by forty-one votes to four, to limit the change of text-books to intervals of ten years, with certain exceptions. 'Every year or two,' said one Senator, 'the farmers of the State have to buy new school-books. Why is this? There is no change in mathematics, no change in the history of our country. If an arithmetic is good for one year it is good for fifty years. We never had perpetrated on the State of Indiana a poorer arithmetic than that adopted a year ago. The frequent changes in our school-books are made to feed the graft of school-book concerns.'

of popular feeling finds expression in a definite enactment. The orthodox faith on certain disputed questions of recent naval history, closely associated with political controversy, is stoutly upheld by the decrees of the State Legislatures in Louisiana and Mississippi, if not elsewhere, that no historical text-books should be used within their schools which did not give Rear-Admiral Schley full credit for the victory at Santiago. Kansas unluckily recorded in its text-books as sober history the alleged exploit of its hero son, Funston, in swimming a Philippine river under fire ahead of his regiment, and when the story and the heroism were afterwards exploded, felt itself compelled to rescind its earlier resolution. In the south the powerful association of 'United Confederate Veterans' has a standing 'history committee,' whose duty it is to see that in every State below the Mason and Dixon line the public authorities exclude from the schools all American histories that 'fail to give a truthful recital of the principles for which the Confederate soldier fought.' Fiske's well-known American history is among those placed for this reason on the *index expurgatorius*. The Confederate reunion of 1904 decided, *à propos* of a recent newspaper discussion affecting an incident in the early career of General Miles, that all future histories should be required to show that Jefferson Davis after his surrender was 'cruelly treated and unnecessarily shackled.' A vehement concern for the exact representation of comparatively ancient history is shown by the zeal of more than one Legislature to prevent any bowdlerization of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' In the original version, written in 1814 by an American who was at the time a prisoner on board a British ship and was watching the bombardment of an American fort, occurred the following strenuous lines:

That is the only reason for their being made.' To make this suggested explanation more intelligible it should be said that constant complaints are made of the active lobbying carried on by what is known as the Book Trust.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terrors of flight or the gloom of the grave.

In the course of time this verse came to be thought an anachronism, and there was consequently substituted for it an amendment free from anti-British sentiment. Not long ago, however, the State of Indiana suddenly awoke to a sense of the outrage thus perpetrated upon patriotic feeling, and its Legislature unanimously passed the following resolution :

Whereas, in certain school-books circulated for use in the public schools of the State the national anthem, ' The Star-Spangled Banner,' has been changed and mutilated to suit the whims and caprices of certain critics; and

Whereas, the immortal verses of Francis Scott Key are dear to the American heart, and should be for ever enshrined in the hearts of the American people and the children of our schools, and their noble sentiments inculcated into the rising generation; therefore, be it

Resolved: By the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that none of the text-books alluded to, which contain the mutilated version of the national anthem, be permitted to be used or to circulate in the public schools of Indiana, and that the State Board of Education is hereby instructed to take proper action in the matter to prevent the use of such books in the public schools of this State.

This decision was quoted with approval by the New York *Freeman's Journal* as 'an effective way of dealing with the Anglo-maniac would-be emasculators of American history,' and there was shortly afterwards introduced into the New York Legislature a bill on the same lines, providing that any official authorizing the expurgation of the song should be held to have thereby violated his oath of office. In more than one State the permission or prohibi-

tion of Greek letter fraternities in the colleges has been one of the questions at issue in political campaigns, the complaint having been made that these societies introduce a system of aristocracy and caste offensive to pure democracy. For less obvious reasons political objection was taken in Kansas a few years ago to the wearing of cap and gown by university professors. 'The farmers out in my section of the State,' said a candidate for the Speakership of the House of Representatives, 'will not stand for petticoat government of the State University.'

Party strife affects the daily work of education more directly in local than in State administration. The body which controls the schools of a city or a district is constituted by different methods in various parts of the country, but whether elected *ad hoc* by the people, or appointed by the mayor or the common council or the judges, or composed by some such 'fancy' scheme as that formerly in vogue in Philadelphia—where there was exercised a quadruple authority of mayor, city councils, board of education and sectional boards—it can seldom afford to act independently of party considerations. Few cities appear to be entirely content with their own method: where the board is elected one hears frequent suggestions that political influence might possibly be 'eliminated' if the authority were appointed, and cities with an appointed board are often found aspiring after the purer administration which they imagine an elective system would introduce. In the autumn of 1904 there were simultaneously reported agitations in Chicago and Boston for a change of plan—in Chicago from the appointive to the elective system, and in Boston in an exactly opposite direction. Where the mayor appoints the board, he thereby enjoys an opportunity of paying some of the political debts incurred in his own election. Where the citizens elect it, they find it practically convenient to be guided by the 'tickets' drawn up by the Republican and Democratic caucuses and conventions. In the latter case it is the 'party boss' who profits by the chance of recognizing

the services of old friends and laying new ones under an obligation.

The most important office in a local school administration is that of the school superintendent or school commissioner, as he is variously called. Sometimes he is directly elected by a straight party contest on the 'spoils' system; more often he holds this post by appointment of the local school board. He is practically the expert adviser of that board on the educational side. His powers vary, it has been truly said, from those of a chief clerk to those of an autocrat. As a rule, the authority definitely committed to him is not great, and his ability to secure the adoption of his plans depends mainly upon his personal influence. If he should happen to arouse political prejudice this influence is naturally weakened, and his tenure of office is likely to be shortened without ceremony. Instances could easily be given of superintendents in important cities who have been 'broken' for holding political opinions that were locally unpopular, or for refusing to subordinate educational efficiency to party interests. Almost equally edifying are those cases in which such removals have been narrowly averted. In *The Political Science Quarterly* for September 1904, Mr. S. P. Orth writes of a city of 50,000 inhabitants where the school superintendent discharged a teacher because of inefficiency. This teacher happened to be a relative of one of the trade union leaders, who at once started a systematic agitation and succeeded in capturing the 'machine' of one of the political parties. The election of a school board pledged to oust the superintendent was only prevented by the polling of an unusually heavy vote by the women electors.

As a rule, political influence on the appointment and dismissal of teachers is exercised indirectly through party control of the school superintendent. If they are so disposed, however, the party 'bosses' are able to ensure, by more immediate methods, that the teachers shall be of the right colour. The most flagrant scandals of recent years were exposed at Philadelphia in 1903, when four school

directors, after remaining nearly a year under indictment, were convicted of selling appointments to places on the teaching staff. Three women teachers testified that they had paid \$120 each for an appointment, and a school principal, i.e. head master, stated that promotion had been offered him for a fee of \$1,000. One of the ward leaders frankly declared that the qualifications he required of applicants for positions were three in number: 'first, that the applicant be able to teach; second, that she live in the ward; and, third, that the least she could do would be to have her male friends and relatives support the organization which would provide her with the means of earning a livelihood.' At the municipal election last preceding this trial all the men teachers in Philadelphia were called upon to contribute a percentage of their salary to the Republican campaign fund, most of them finding the words 'two per cent.' pencilled in blue at the top of the circular sent them. An equal contribution was also made by several of the women teachers. The superintendent of schools was himself assessed at six per cent. In a detailed account of Philadelphia school affairs which appeared in the *New York Tribune* of March 29, 1903, a local 'boss' was quoted as offering the following justification of the prevailing system:

Why shouldn't the teacher pay his assessment? If tomorrow there were a vacancy in a school in my ward, my house would be besieged by applicants who were ready to promise anything in return for my support. They are glad enough to get the support of the 'machine'; why shouldn't they support it? I have a city place, and I pay; the clerks and the workmen in city employ pay; the 'machine' got them their place; what is the difference?

The results upon the quality of the teaching staff of the city schools may easily be imagined. The school principals complained that they had to carry 'dead wood' through the appointment and promotion of poor teachers for political reasons. (The politicians, by the way, ingeni-

ously contend that, as all teachers are alike certificated, it cannot matter which of them is selected for any particular appointment.) The subordinates, owing their position to the influence of the 'boss,' resented the authority of the principal; the children were quick to realize the situation, and discipline was soon at an end. No doubt the Philadelphia scandals are an extreme instance of political domination. But that the evil, in varying degrees, is widespread may be inferred from the fact that one of the reasons ordinarily given in defence of the American plan of preferring women teachers to men is that the risks of political influence in the schools are thereby diminished.

But political control not merely tends to lower the standard of personal efficiency in the teaching staff, it also hampers the work of competent teachers by making the proper equipment of the schools a matter of less importance than the satisfaction of political clients. In this respect Philadelphia again deserves the distinction of being quoted as the 'horrible example.' The conviction of the school directors gave a wholesome warning, for the time at any rate, that the blackmailing of teachers was inexpedient. Suppressed in this direction the mischief of political control broke out in other forms, until at last it became intolerable. More than a year after the conviction before mentioned there appeared in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* an appeal to the citizens, signed by a large number of school principals and teachers. Emboldened by the independence they had gained through the previous disclosures, they ventured to denounce existing conditions as making efficient education impossible. It was pointed out that in the Seventh Ward, for instance, a neighbourhood which did not require a new school was about to obtain a costly building at the expense of localities which needed increased accommodation, the reason being that a local politician wanted something for his constituents. Complaint was made of the serious physical risks to which hundreds of teachers and thousands of children were exposed through dilapidated school buildings, broken-down

and dangerous heating plants, and overcrowded classrooms. Inadequate 'appropriations' had even made it necessary to accept voluntary contributions of thousands of dollars' worth of text-books and other supplies from business firms. By the side of such a tale of grievances a complaint made in Brooklyn at about the same time seems trivial indeed, though the trouble was doubtless irritating enough to those who suffered from it. In that city the school principals rashly attempted to abolish the use of feather dusters in school cleaning. It was an insani-tary method, they said, filling the air with dust. The school janitors, however, protested against the reform, and their political influence carried such weight with the authorities that the feather dusters were restored.

Earlier in this article illustrations were given of the control directly exercised by State Legislatures on the curriculum and the selection of text-books. Where the choice is not already anticipated by the State Legislature the local bodies take an even greater delight in determining such matters. Here the bane of politics is chiefly felt through the incompetence of the men whom party conflicts have placed upon the boards or the committees of the boards. In one instance instruction in cooking and sewing was unintentionally banished from the girls' schools of a city because the school superintendent had unwisely put these subjects down on his list as 'domestic economy,' and nobody on the board knew what the term meant. It is alleged by writers in the American educational press that men are sometimes placed on school-book committees who can scarcely read with intelligence the books submitted to their censorship, and who, indeed, can scarcely write their own names. 'I should think a city exceptionally fortunate,' says Dr. Eliot, the President of Harvard, 'whose sub-committee on school-books consisted of a banker's clerk, a blacksmith and a wholesale grocer, none of which estimable callings can be said to fit a man for the difficult function of selecting text-books for schools.' The rumours of 'graft' that are so often heard in connexion

with State legislation in this matter are also frequent in discussions of the action of these boards and committees. The suspicions as to the sources of influence in adopting manuals are so general that when, a few years ago, proposals were made for the introduction into schools of the teaching of morality 'with suitable text-books,' the writer of the summary of educational events in a well-known American quarterly sarcastically expressed the hope that there might turn out to be 'nothing unethical' in this provision.

In any consideration of the place of politics in American education it must not be overlooked that the study of politics itself forms part of the training of the American school-boy. Under the name of 'civics' it appears as a definite subject in the curriculum of all well-equipped public high schools. Not long before leaving England Mr. Choate commiserated us on the absence from our educational system of any such preparation for the duties of public life. In the cultivation of the emotion of patriotism the schools of the United States are conspicuously successful, as the celebration of the national holidays sufficiently indicates. But American children are quick-witted enough to gather from daily observation no little information about certain phases of the problem of government on which the manuals of 'civics' are silent. Those only who can establish the exact ratio, in educational value, between precept and example are competent to gauge the comparative effectiveness, as a training for the responsibilities of citizenship, of formal class instruction on the one hand and object-lessons in the working of the 'machine' on the other: they alone can estimate how far the minds of the pupils are likely to be influenced by the noble political ideals of the text-books and how far by the revelation of what the community really expects and allows in political practice.

HERBERT W. HORWILL.

THE CHRIST OF DOGMA AND THE JESUS OF THE GOSPELS

THE title of this article is intended to challenge attention to a difficulty which exists for many religiously-minded persons who are either indifferent or hostile to official and orthodox Christianity, and who, out of a good conscience, have been alienated from the fellowship of the faith.

The theologian of a certain type will at once declare that the title involves a distinction without a difference. But when he goes out into the market-place, and gets into touch with the religious thoughts and experiences of the men he meets there, the difference between the Christ of dogma and the Jesus of the Gospels will be found to constitute one of their main practical difficulties, demanding the most careful and direct handling. The Jesus of the Gospels appeals to them with great power and with an indefinable spell. His genuineness and spontaneity; His naturalness and humanness; the simplicity of His teaching; His power to transfigure human life with a marvellous gift of spiritual romance; His intense sympathy; the high ideals He holds up before us; His wonderful teaching about God and God's love and all that follows from it—the breaking of the power of sin over us, the assurance of God's readiness to forgive His repentant children, the happy fellowship of love to which God will admit the humblest of mankind, the vision of a redeemed humanity,—these elements give to the Jesus of the Gospels a mystery, a power, an inexhaustibleness, an attractiveness, a redeeming influence in the lives of those who really come into familiar intercourse with Him which is just as great to-day as it was nineteen hundred years ago.

Can the same be said about the Christ of dogma, i.e. Jesus as He is represented in the creeds and theology of

the Church? There we have not so much a simple human personality as a metaphysical abstraction; the Jesus of history isolated from actuality and held in a kind of intellectual vacuum; the pivot of a philosophy. The Christ of dogma is more a revelation of the minds of the framers of dogma and the exhibition of the historical development of the Christian conscience than a portrayal of the Saviour of men Himself; a revelation of precious worth to the Church, but not to be compared with, and least of all substituted for, the portrayal of Jesus in the Gospels.

To come at all near to the Christ of dogma one has to learn a new language, which is emphatically neither the language of our common life nor of the gospel story. The man who has not learned this language and is not trained to enter into the discussion of subtle metaphysical problems does not and cannot really come near to Him, he only sees Him from afar, and has to take Him for granted on the authority of philosophers, theologians, or the Church. If you put Jesus, say, as He appears in St. Mark's Gospel, side by side with the Christ as He appears, say, in the Athanasian Creed, and then declare there is no difference between the two, one begins to wonder whether words have lost their meaning.

I wish to guard myself against being misunderstood. I am far from desiring to show any disrespect for, or lack of appreciation of, the work of Christian theologians and philosophers. Theirs is a very necessary work and quite inevitable. One might with as much or as little reason decry the work of the chemist or the biologist. Christian theology is to Jesus what biology is to the facts of physical life. Nor do I wish to be understood as passing any judgement on the conclusions of theology about Jesus; those conclusions differ among themselves as widely as the poles are far apart. There are a good many people who declare that they reject the Christ of dogma. What they really mean is that they reject a given theological view of Jesus, while their own view is, at least, just as much a matter of metaphysics as the view they reject.

The aim of the writer is not at all to depreciate the value of theological science or the findings of schools of theology. He seeks to give expression to a feeling which exists in the common mind in respect to the difference suggested in the title of this article; to insist that this difference needs vital recognition in the presentation of the gospel as the power of God unto salvation; to indicate how the recognition of this difference will affect the working of the gospel as a redemptive force in human experience, and with entire diffidence to suggest to our theological experts that the channels of redeeming grace should be kept free from a great deal which, however 'alluvial' for the purposes of spiritual culture, tends to impede the onrush of the stream of life which flows from Jesus to the unsophisticated soul of the would-be disciple.

In studying the gospel as a redeeming force we find that actually in experience it is the Jesus of the Gospels and not the Christ of dogma that is our Saviour and Lord; it is faith in the Jesus of the Gospels that is saving faith, and that makes us Christians. It is living faith in, and fellowship with, the Jesus of the Gospels that saves us, rather than the acceptance of certain interpretations of Jesus as expressed in the Christ of dogma. The atmosphere of religious thought needs to be cleared of the confusion that exists between the essential saving power of the Jesus of the Gospels and the Christ of dogma. The average man is asking, 'To whom shall we go?' and he cannot get a satisfactory answer. He has his own instinctive promptings, but these seem to be discounted by the attitude of some teachers. One has only to listen to the average sermon, or to read the books of representative religious writers, to realize the need for some explicit statement on this issue. On the one hand we hear in the simplest and often most sweetly reasonable and gracious words the exhortation to trust in Jesus as our Saviour, to look to Him for the realization of all our dreams, the satisfaction of all the deep hunger of the soul for life; but on the other hand, perhaps, just as Jesus is working His miracle of grace in the soul

we are told that 'to be a Christian' we must believe this or that doctrine, which, however logical as a deduction from the gospel, is none the less an intellectual interpretation of Jesus and His work. Will our official leaders tell us plainly whether Jesus as He stands revealed in the great threefold story does 'suffice' to show us the Father and to bring the prodigal children home to the Father's house, or is it also necessary that we must see Jesus in doctrine and creed before we can see God in Jesus? Is the mystic and soul-ravishing vision of the Father's face, after all, a matter of logic and metaphysics? Can Jesus only reveal the Father to us as He is seconded by the efforts of theologian and creed-maker? If in experience we realize the deep truth that Jesus died to save us, is it essential that, added to that experience, we must also believe in some theological explanation of the method by which that saving process is effected?

Before we can appreciate spiritually the significance of His declaration that 'The Father is in Me,' is it necessary that we should hold the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity? The Athanasian Creed puts the matter with delightful directness, a directness which, however, it soon forsakes. It tells us plainly that 'he that would be saved' must believe certain metaphysical propositions about Jesus which it proceeds to enunciate, and so that there shall be no mistake it goes on to say that unless we do believe them we shall 'without doubt perish everlastingly.' When we come to read the things, belief of which 'without doubt' is necessary to our salvation, we find that equally 'without doubt' they are things which are simply incomprehensible to nine out of ten (at a low estimate) average people. This Creed stands as an example (extreme, perhaps) of the tendency to put the emphasis about salvation in the wrong place; to make the acceptance of certain dogmas about Jesus of more importance and more vital for discipleship than a living faith in, and a loving fellowship with, and a loyal obedience to, Jesus of the gospel story.

Father Tyrrell (surely one of the most heroic figures

in the world of religious thought to-day), in his essay on 'Theologism,'¹ endeavours in an original and ingenious way to account for the coming into being of the Athanasian Creed, and to describe its function. He says, 'For myself, till better instructed, I must regard these propositions not as having metaphysical but merely protective value; as reasserting the prophetic utterance of the apostolic revelation which presents us with one God and three Divine Persons—a Father, a Son, and a Spirit—utterances that would be contradictory were they metaphysical and not merely prophetic and symbolic; which possess an imaginative and devotional and practical value; which dimly foreshadow a truth that defies definition, yet excludes Unitarianism, Arianism, Tritheism, Sabellianism, and every similar impertinence of metaphysical curiosity. It is not as theological but as anti-theological that the Creed has a protective value. It pulverizes every attempt at a rationalistic and literal explanation of purely prophetic utterances.' It would seem that the Creed came into being as a praiseworthy endeavour to defeat the impertinent curiosity of rationalists in their attempt to analyse the mystery of the 'apostolic revelation.' Those who were concerned to accomplish this defeat achieved their purpose by the simple device of queering the trail. They surrounded the 'apostolic revelation' with such a thick cloud of 'prophetic and symbolic utterances' as very successfully to mystify any who may enter its 'protective' maze. This is ingenious, but it is hardly convincing. For some of us it would be difficult to discover anything 'imaginative,' 'devotional,' or 'practical' in the phrases of the Creed. It has across its face the hall-mark of the metaphysician. Its every line witnesses to the deliberate attempt of its framers at 'a rationalistic and literal explanation' of the revelation of God in Jesus. It is not so much a notice-board warning off the trespassing intellect from the holy ground of that revelation as the monument of the colossal

¹ *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, pp. 308-354.

failure of the intellect to define what Father Tyrrell rightly says defies definition. It is the classic and outstanding instance of the attempt to substitute the Christ of dogma for the Jesus of the Gospels; and the persistent retention of the Creed by the Church on the one hand, and the attitude of half-contemptful, half-impatient indifference assumed toward it by the average man on the other hand, is in itself a very good indication of the disharmony which exists between the Church and the average man in regard to the relative value for discipleship of the Christ of dogma and the Jesus of the Gospels.

One is sometimes driven to wonder how far Jesus would recognize His gospel in some modern presentations of it. The Church has, century after century, added here a little and there a little to the original gospel; not consciously adding, but developing, as we now say, ideas which the Church considered to be involved in the original gospel, explicating its implications. And the product of this process of development has come to be regarded as an essential part of the original, and of equal importance and authority. Development, we all know, is necessary to life; but we do need to claim liberty to inquire whether the authoritative developments are valid, whether they are really implicated in the original source. And when all is said there comes upon the modern man the very strong feeling that these developments, even though they may appeal to his rationalizing instinct, have not the same vital, *saving* power. Let him accept all the orthodox creeds that have ever been 'developed,' it is the living, actual fellowship with the Jesus of the Gospels that saves him from the power of sin, that awakens the slumbering divinity within him, and by the gracious power of His redeeming passion makes him a new creature. One cannot help remembering that Jesus exercised this power long before the creeds came into existence, that long before these developments came to be elaborated He and His gospel were, in deed and in truth, 'the power of God unto salvation' for myriads of earnest and sincere souls. A Christian sainthood and

Christian heroism unsurpassed in later ages glorify the story of the Church long before she began her work of developing the metaphysical implications of Jesus and His message. Jesus was the Saviour long before the Christ of dogma came into being. And as to-day we see how helpless often the Church's dogmatic Christ is in face of the world's sin and sorrow, we cannot help looking back with longing hearts to the ancient days when Jesus wrought His miracles of redemption, the days when the harlots and the publicans, the Magdalens and the Matthews, were drawn in crowds to gather about Him, and found in Him and His words the hope and joy and peace of their souls.

It is the attempt to impose the theological Christ upon the absolute acceptance of the average man that has done as much as anything to drive him away from the Church and out of sympathy with official Christianity. One may venture to affirm that the sceptical antagonism to Christianity to-day is antagonism to the Christ of dogma, and not to the Jesus of the Gospels. The hostile critics of the Christian faith have no quarrel with Jesus. Many of them who loudly protest their rejection of Christianity feel in their hearts the magical spell of His matchless personality. In quiet, meditative moments, when they stand apart for a little while from the hurly-burly of the battlefield, His gracious invitation, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest; take My yoke upon you and learn of Me,' wakes strange sympathetic echoes and formless yearnings in their souls; their hearts are touched with the radiant message of the everlasting Love as they read it in the simple language of the evangel. Then some theological expert comes along and insists that all this counts for nothing, and less than nothing, unless they are also willing to go to the theologian and the creed-makers and take *their* yoke upon them. So the spell of Jesus is broken before it can achieve its work, and the old hostility flares up with intenser heat.

This substitution of the Christ of dogma for the Jesus of the Gospels works disaster in another direction. There

are not a few who are willing to accept the Christ of dogma as the saving centre of their faith, not because they understand or feel, but because the great teachers of the Church tell them that such an acceptance is the essential factor in the process of redemption. So they lose touch with the Jesus of the Gospels. *He* is not at all a power in their lives; their Christian discipleship becomes a hard, mechanical, barren thing; their lives are never fructified by the fertilizing spirit of Jesus the Saviour. We hear a great deal about the loss in these days of the spiritual dynamic of the Christian Church. What else is to be expected when the Church substitutes the Christ of her theologians for that Jesus of the Gospels, who first called her into being, and by whose divine Spirit all her noblest achievements have been won?

With many of us, more or less, and in a measure unconsciously, we have been told so often and with such emphasis that it is not enough to be in living and effective fellowship with the Jesus of the Gospels, not enough in simple faith to submit ourselves to Him, and try to follow in the footsteps of His most holy life; we must *also* hold this or that dogma about Him, or we shall 'without doubt perish everlastingly,' that we are almost half inclined to believe it, or, at least, the fear, the shadow of it haunts us and sends a chill to our hearts, especially when the dogma to be held is something which, try as we will to respond, makes no effective appeal to us. It clouds for us the warm sunshine of the love of Jesus and mars the simple joyousness of our fellowship with Him.

It seems, to those who know him, that the modern man, though alienated from orthodox Christianity, is crying out for some great reassuring word; something that shall make him realize that whatever his difficulties about the Christ of dogma may be, they do not matter so long as he is linked by faith with the Jesus of the Gospels, trying to make his own the spirit of Jesus, trying to know God as Jesus revealed Him, trying to trust and serve God in the daily life as Jesus trusted and served Him, in His beautiful,

childlike, simple way; something that shall make him feel that the secret of a happy, holy life is won when he yields himself in faith to Jesus and follows in His footsteps.

Looking into our own spiritual experience, are we not justified in declaring that no one ever becomes 'a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of God' by participation in any external rites, or by the intellectual acceptance of any doctrinal conclusions? These are effects and not causes. It is really difficult to imagine that mere belief of the Athanasian or any other creed ever saved any soul from sin or sorrow, or brought to any one the transfigured life. It is Jesus, His wonderful words, His radiant life, His pure and gentle spirit, the redeeming influence of His sacrifice of Himself for love's sake—it is all this that brings peace and joy, hope, purity, inspiration, and the power of a deathless life to the simplest soul that lives with Him in the fellowship of faith.

And as soon as we realize that it is Jesus of the Gospels around whom our faith, discipleship, and Christian life centre, there are certain thoughts which come into the mind with almost the power and surprise of a new revelation.

How simple a thing discipleship becomes! As simple as the gospel story itself, as simple as the human heart, as simple as the life of childhood. Jesus likened it to that. It is the life of childhood; the fulfilment of the child's relation to the great and loving Father whom Jesus knew and whom He revealed to us. It needs no subtle power of mind, no training in metaphysics, no process of theological analysis.

How personal a thing it is! The relation of the disciple to Jesus, which lies at the root of Christian faith, is a personal relation. The whole essence of discipleship lies in this linking of the individual man with the individual Jesus; the penetration and suffusion of the spirit of the individual by the spirit of Jesus. It is with a personality we have to deal, and not with an intellectual abstraction from whom the warm human personality has been drained out. It is as our nature comes into contact with His that

the saving power streams out from Him to us, like some energizing, spiritual, electric essence, and irradiates the whole man.

How mysterious a thing discipleship becomes when we remember that its secret lies in the play and power of one personality upon another! Its very simplicity makes it mysterious. All the simplest things, the elemental things, lie nearest to the heart of mystery. The frail harebell on its fairy-like stem, how simple, yet how mysterious! The love of a little child, how simple, yet how mysterious! The power of the love and life of Jesus upon our heart and life, its redemptive power, how simple, yet how mysterious! We know not by what strange alchemy it is achieved, but we do know that when a man yields himself to the spell of His personality He transmutes the common life into something compared with which purest gold is but dross and tinsel. There is more of mystery in the saving influence of Jesus upon the human soul than in the subtlest theological dogma ever framed; the one is the mystery of light, the other is, often enough, the mystery of the darkness of ignorance.

How free a thing discipleship becomes! Jesus does not demand the annihilation of the self; He quickens, develops, intensifies selfhood. He does not limit the scope of individuality, He enlarges it. The presentation of the Christ of dogma is sometimes only the excuse to imprison the spirit of the disciple within the triangular walls of a logical syllogism. Where the spirit of Jesus is, there is the fullest liberty in both the intellectual and spiritual spheres. If a man is effectually possessed by the spirit of Jesus, you can, with utmost confidence, 'loose him and let him go' to think his own thoughts and fashion his life in terms of the possessing spirit. Catholicism repudiates the charge of spiritual tyranny, and emphatically declares that its sons are free. But the freedom of the Catholic is like the freedom of a creature securely tethered to his stake and unable to move beyond the prescribed radius.

The freedom of him who lives in fellowship with the

Jesus of the Gospels is the freedom of the strong-winged bird which, however far it may travel over wide horizons, feels, at its farthest flight, the pull of the nest. The centripetal attraction of Jesus is always sufficient to hold in perfect adjustment the centrifugal orbit of the soul that is centred in Him. If one lives in vital union with Him, the results of freedom as expressed in the total sum of life's activities and actualities will always be spiritually rich. It is in the *reality* of the union that the secret lies, and of which one needs to be assured.

And how difficult a thing discipleship becomes! It is easy for the average man to accept the Christ of dogma on the terms upon which He is offered. All his thinking is done for him, if he so wills it; what he has to do is merely to acquiesce in the result. It is a transaction and nothing else, and in the transaction the Church has been so eager to swell the number of her converts that she has cheapened the terms of discipleship. One may almost describe the action of those who delude people into a discipleship which demands nothing more from the disciple than a formal acceptance of a creed or participation in a rite, as approaching a spiritual crime. The cheapening of discipleship, the soulless religion of formal Christians, has been one of the results of the supremacy of the Christ of dogma. When the centre of gravity of discipleship is shifted from the Christ of dogma to the Jesus of the Gospels, it becomes not a transaction but a growth, not an acceptance of something but an assimilation of something. It is not a momentary act, but a continuous process.

So I would plead for a return to the Jesus of the gospel story as the redeeming Saviour, as the centre of gravity of our Christian faith and discipleship; the Jesus who lived and taught and died in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago, and who lives to-day in the hearts and rules in the lives of all who love Him. It is by faith in, and fellowship with, and loyalty to Him that manhood will reach its finest flower of perfection.

BENJAMIN A. MILLARD.

THE LONDON GILDS

The Gilds and Companies of London. By GEORGE UNWIN, Lecturer on Economic History in the University of Edinburgh. (London : Methuen & Co.)

THIS book, written primarily for the antiquary and scholar, is yet full of interest for the general reader. It seems almost exhaustive, teeming with references to all kinds of obscure authorities. To criticize such a volume would need an expert. It is an easier and more pleasant work to glean from its pages some account of the London Gilds.

Probably to most of us the Gild is of the very essence of Cockneydom. Do not their stately halls stand with proud eminence in the City? Are not the City Fathers, in robes and dignities, the representatives of these great companies? Is not the Lord Mayor's Show a very glorious display of the Gilds, Skinners or Spectacle-makers, Goldsmiths or Fishmongers? And the schools and great charities of London, are they not the proud memorials of the beneficence of its Gilds?

In the midst of such associations it comes almost as a shock to find that the Gild is by no means ours only. China has its Gilds all over its vast Empire. 'In all the crowded and busy cities that float their wares down the Yang-tse-kiang, and in the remotest parts of Manchuria, the halls of the Gilds are not only as much renowned for their hospitality as are those of the London companies; they still preserve in full activity many of those economic functions of which the halls of the companies were the centre in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And the Chinese Gild is by no means a mere survival rooted in the soil. Wherever the ubiquitous Chinaman goes he takes the Gild with him. The laundry man of San Francisco, the cabinet maker of Melbourne or Sidney, preserves in

his native organization a power of cohesion that enables him to smile at the ineffectual devices of the Western factory legislators, with his notions of a minimum wage. In India the trade castes assume all the forms of Gild organization. . . . They fix piecework rates, insist on holidays, prohibit overtime, and devote their entrance fees and fines to feasting and friendly benefits. . . . The Mohammedan tradition traces the Byzantine Gilds beyond the days of the Prophet (who was himself a member of the Gild of Merchants) to the time of Noah, the patron of carpenters and shipbuilders, and of Adam, the patron of the bakers. Eve presides over the washerwomen, Cain over the butchers and gravediggers, Elijah over the furriers, Joseph over the watch and clockmakers, whilst sailors have their choice between the seven sleepers of Ephesus and the prophet Jonah.'

But there is an essential difference between these Gilds of the East and the West. 'The Gilds of the East are alive, whilst the Gilds of the West are dead. The Gilds of the West are dead because they have performed the most useful of their functions; they have helped to build up a social structure by which they have been superseded. . . . The Gilds of the West expired in giving birth to progress.'

This brings us to what is the most important part that the Gilds have played in the history of England. The glory and strength of our modern life lies in its great middle class. Looking back to feudal times we see two classes, and two only—the lord and the serf. Between them lay a great gulf, deep and impassable. To bridge this gulf, to transform the workmen into bodies administering their own affairs and governing their towns, was most largely the work of the Gilds. The town made the nation and the Gild made the town.

In a striking paragraph Mr. Unwin points out that it is for want of towns and of those middle classes that only centuries of towns can produce that Russia finds it so difficult to become a free nation.

Green gives us an incident which admirably illustrates how the enterprise of town corporations secured some of the commonest liberties of the people—liberties without which we should not think life worth living. 'It chanced,' says a charter of Leicester, 'that two kinsmen, Nicholas and Geoffrey, waged a duel to settle the ownership of a piece of land. They fought from the first to the ninth hour. Then one standing on the brink of a pit and about to fall therein, the other cried, "Take care of the pit," and thus saved his kinsman's life. Thereat so much clamour was made that the earl sent forth to inquire as to its cause. Then the townsmen, being moved with pity, made a covenant with the earl to pay threepence yearly for each house in the High Street that had a gable, in order that henceforth they should have the right of trial by jury.'

The lords were ever quick to perceive that the growing forces which tended to exalt the people endangered their own lordship, a jealousy which, perhaps, is not wholly extinct to-day. It is not many years since a large farmer in Somerset told me that he remembered some time in the 'fifties' how a farm labourer came to the Parish Church in a black coat instead of the old-fashioned smock frock. The next day the rector called together the leading men of the parish and indignantly declared, 'This is the beginning of the French Revolution! This man is breaking down our social distinctions. He must go.' The man had to go and seek elsewhere a larger freedom. The freedom that was impossible to a poor man in the country was made possible only by these voluntary associations in the towns.

This incident, however, does not for a moment illustrate the relation of the Church to the Gilds. This is a point to be carefully noted. 'We know that by the middle of the ninth century the clergy of the Diocese of Rheims superintended the formation of religious Gilds essentially the same as those which underlay every form of social and economic organization. The bishops were not at this time a mere part of the framework of feudalism. They

supplied a vital link between an imperial authority and the growing element of self-government in towns. In this intermediate position lay their opportunity.'

We must not think of the Gilds in their earlier phases as only or mainly existing for the interest of some particular trade. In Anglo-Saxon times we have evidence of Gilds formed to supplement the tie of kinship and to afford mutual protection. There was the London 'Frith Gild,' an organization whose main object was the putting down of theft. 'The duties of members with regard to the pursuit of thieves were carefully defined. Those who had horses were to follow the thief over the border, and those who had no horses were to work for the absent till their return. Members who had lost property and could show that it had been stolen, might claim compensation at a fixed rate from the common fund. . . . When a member died, his Gild brethren were each to give a loaf for his soul, and to sing, or get sung, fifty masses within thirty days.'

To-day the Gild is but an interesting memorial of what was at one time a very real and great power. 'There were three ways in which a craft could turn its powers of self-government to account. (1) By controlling the import and export of wares. (2) By limiting its own numbers. (3) By a secret agreement about prices. The power to seize defective goods could easily be turned into a weapon against the foreign competitor. Defective foreign caps, gloves, and pouches were solemnly consigned to the flames in Cheap opposite the end of Soper Lane. The carcasses of two bullocks, said to have died of disease, were burnt under the nose of the pilloried foreign butcher (a native of West Ham) in the Stocks Market.' In 1298 the cutlers seized a hundred and a half of knives belonging to Hugh of Limerick as being foreign knives. In 1341 the mercers were empowered to seize the silk kerchiefs, the Aylsham thread, and the linen cloth for sale by the men of Norfolk.

Amongst these trade jealousies and this exclusiveness it is delightful to come upon so merry and lighthearted a fraternity as that of the *Feste du Pui* of the fourteenth century.

It belongs to that period of London history when the city's trade was largely in the hands of foreigners, so that the Mayor of Bordeaux in 1275 could become Mayor of London in 1280. The *Feste du Pui* was founded 'to the honour of God, of Madame St. Mary, and all saints of both sexes, and to the honour of our lord the King, and of all the barons of the land, for the safeguarding of loyal friendship, and to the end that the City of London may be renowned for all good things in all good places, and that good fellowship, peace, honour, gentleness, cheerful mirth and kindly affection may be duly maintained.' The special feature of the fraternity was its yearly feast, when a crown was awarded to the best song. The body of the hall was to be simply decorated with leaves and rushes, and upon the seat of the singers alone was cloth of gold to be bestowed. Very delightful is the reason given for the exclusion of ladies from the feast. It was in order that 'they might learn to honour, cherish, and commend all ladies as much in their absence as in their presence.' Here, too, as in every fraternity, there are the social and religious obligations, 'The yearly mass in St. Helen's Priory, the maintenance of a light in St. Martin-le-Grand, the common box with several keys, the provision for poor members, the payment of a special chaplain to sing masses for the souls of deceased members, and finally, when funds were forthcoming, the building of a chapel for this purpose, the Guildhall Chapel of St. Mary.'

The religious object of the Gild is so constant and prominent that the fraternity has been described as a *Co-operative Chantry*. The part occupied by chantries in the religious life of the middle ages was greater than can be easily realized. The majority of the clergy, says Bishop Stubbs, had 'neither cure of souls nor duty of preaching; their spiritual work was simply to say masses for the dead.' The Gild was often a parish Friendly Society. The fraternity of St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre's Church ordains that, 'if any brother or sister fall into poverty by way of robbery, or accident, or fire, or by any other misfortune,

not through his own fault, and he have not wherewith to live or help himself, he shall every week have fourteen pence.'

The Fishmongers were the most orthodox of trades. Their Mayor, Hamo de Chigwell, was discovered at a moment of extreme peril to be in Holy Orders, and was taken under the protection of the bishop. A long series of early wills show them to have been the most munificent donors to religious objects of all the citizens of London. Half-a-dozen riverside churches were endowed and rebuilt by their bequests for the maintenance of chantries. Perhaps the most romantic incident is that of the Gild of the Tailors' sending forth a representative, one Henry de Ryall, not to take orders, but as a vicarious pilgrim to represent them in his adoration at the holy places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

We find the fellowship of the Yeomen Officers—the police constables of their day—ordaining that, 'Every one that sweareth or blasphemeth by God our Heavenly Father, or by His blessed Son Jesus, or by His bitter passion which He suffered for mankind, or by His precious blood which He shed for the sins of the whole world, or by His Blessed Mother, St. Mary, shall forfeit and pay sixpence or else a pound of wax to the light' maintained by the Gild in Austin Friars. They actually fixed a fine—a heavy one for those days—of three shillings and fourpence for the offence of going out before the sermon when in attendance on the Sheriffs at St. Paul's.

Nor on its business side was the spirit of the Gild a purely selfish one. It would be difficult to think of anything more admirable than this account of the Gild of Physicians. In the first year of Henry VI Gilbert Kymer, Rector of Medicine in the City of London, appeared with the two surveyors of the faculty of physic and the two masters of the craft of surgery before the Mayor, to ask for their professional organization. Their rules were to insure that all practitioners should be duly qualified, if possible, by a university training. They were to provide a hall where disputation in philosophy and medicine could be

regularly carried on. No physician was to take upon himself any cure, 'desperate or deadly,' without showing it within two or three days to the Rector or one of the surveyors, that a professional consultation might be held. No surgeon was to make any cutting or cauterization which might result in death or maiming, without similar notice. Any sick man needing professional help, but too poor to pay for it, might have it by applying to the Rector. No physician was to charge excessive fees, but to fix them in accordance with the power of the sick man. A body composed of two physicians, two surgeons, and two apothecaries was to search all shops for 'false or sophisticated medicines,' and to pour all quack remedies into the gutter.

We find early in the fourteenth century a Gild of the London Rectors. Its main objects were to protect the interests of its members as beneficed clergy against the dishonesty or negligence of their curates (who also possessed a Gild), against the greed of apparitors, the injustice of Archdeacons, the encroachments of the Friars, and the evil effects of slanderous charges and of their own internal dissensions. On the festival of the Saint to which each member's church was dedicated, all the other members were to attend that church, and each was to make an offering of not less than a penny. There was the usual provision for attendance at a funeral and for supplying lights, and each was to say thirty masses for the deceased member. No curate or parish clerk who had left one of the members on bad terms was to be installed by any of the others. The oath tendered to a curate on taking service bound him under conditions as strict as those laid upon a journeyman in a craft. In a typical case of the year 1304 the chaplain was to have twenty shillings a year, and whatever legacies he could get out of the parishioners, but he was not to keep back any of the oblations or wax money. His hours of attendance were carefully defined. If he happened to be out of the parish when Curfew sounded, he must hasten back with all speed and sleep there at night. He must not stir up strife against the Rector, and

must report all that he saw and heard that might turn to his Rector's disadvantage. The Rectors were not to go to law with each other, but to submit all disputes to the wardens. And upon all solemn occasions of meeting they were to be habited in a seemly dress—an over-garment of white fur and a black under-garment—that they might be distinguished from non-members as the sheep from the goats.

It is difficult to think of a London where the Watermen were all that omnibuses and cabs are to us of to-day. The roads were bad, and cabs unknown. London lay along its river front on both sides of the Thames. To us, familiar with the ceaseless roar of traffic and the more recent hooting of the motor-car, there comes a feeling of envy when we think of the delightful leisure and stillness that must have reigned over the city when the Watermen had things all their own way. They claimed to be the most numerous company in London—forty thousand, one account says. They were well organized, and possessed a powerful spokesman in Taylor the Water Poet, who, for twenty years, in prose and verse fulminated against the upstart '*hellcart coaches*'—as they called the new hackney coaches. The Globe, the Rose, and the Swan Theatres were on the Southwark side of the Thames, and the Watermen petitioned the Privy Council that, for the sake of their large families, and in the interests of the upkeep of the Navy, no theatre might be allowed in Middlesex within four miles of the City. The players poured ridicule on the petition, suggesting that the Royal Exchange, Paul's Walk, and Moorfields should be removed to the south side of the river for the benefit of the Watermen. Bacon delighted the Water Poet by declaring that, 'in so far as public weal was to be regarded before pastimes, or a serviceable decaying multitude before a handful of particular men, or profit before pleasure, so far was the Watermen's suit to be preferred before the players.'

We heartily thank Mr. Unwin for this valuable contribution to '*The Antiquary's Books*.'

MARK GUY PEARSE.

Notes and Discussions

THE CHURCHES AND PARTY POLITICS

THE 'Nonconformist Minister' who wrote an article on Nonconformity and Politics in the *Fortnightly Review*, last January, and has since published a book on the subject, has fluttered many ecclesiastical dovescotes. Some might prefer to say that he has stirred up a nest of political hornets. He has, at all events, called forth a shower of eager replies, vehemently challenging his positions that the Nonconformist Churches have 'betrayed their trust,' are 'recreant to their vows,' and that they are not 'in the way of making saints—that is a secret they have somehow lost.' Approval of the book has been expressed by a few, notably by Dr. Forsyth, who is a host in himself, and many of the quiet in the land have rejoiced over the appearance of this protest, without expressing themselves in the newspapers. But the large majority of his fellow-churchmen seem to view the writer as a traitor in their camp.

With the controversy as a controversy we are not concerned. But no one can doubt that the issues raised are vital, and that it is quite time some of them were determined. They concern those who do, as well as those who do not, belong to the Established Church of this country. It is the interests of the Church of Christ that are at stake, if the energies which ought to be devoted to making Christians are in serious danger of being diverted to secondary objects, whether it be the passing of bills through the legislature, or the reconstruction of the social order, or the provision of amusements for young people on church premises. It will, however, be matter of great regret if questions of this kind are discussed in a mere partisan spirit. Some leading men (in Church, as well as State) are never satisfied till there is a fight forward. Their spirits rise with the prospect of a fray, and they estimate vitality by the ability to enjoy fisticuffs. Evolution by antagonism is one mode of progress, but within the Church of Christ it is surely not the best.

The aims of 'Nonconformist Minister' are excellent, but he

has in some respects a weak case. He cannot deny that Non-conformists, in their origin, were bound to take political action to secure their very existence. He admits that now they are quite in order in working for Disestablishment. He is prepared to allow, or even to urge, that individual Church members should take part in political life as citizens. He is well aware that the clergy of the Church of England are politically active, especially upon some questions—such as religious education in primary schools—which touch very nearly the interests of Non-conformists. He knows that the Education Act of 1902 roused strong indignation amongst Dissenters, and stirred many to political action who had previously held aloof from party strife. He is well aware that a large part of modern legislation is social rather than political (if such a distinction be permissible), that it touches morals very nearly, and that earnest religious men cannot be silent or inactive when measures vitally affecting the moral character of the body politic are trembling in the balance. Yet he would draw—if he could—a hard and fast line between religious and moral interests on the one hand, and State action on the other, reserving the former alone for the consideration of the Churches in their corporate capacity. The answer is, that if the Churches are alive it cannot be done. The solidarity of life is too complete. These complex interests are too closely bound up together for any artificial dividing line to be drawn between them. The 'moral witness of the Church on social and economical subjects' for which the Bishop of Birmingham contended recently in Convocation bears in many directions on national policy. In the future, even more than in the past, it will be seen that life is one, and that religion, if it is to do its work rightly, must permeate and sway the whole.

But who that knows anything of the life of modern Churches will deny that in spirit this protest is most timely and greatly needed? It is not a question of principle, but of emphasis. Granted that religious life must begin from within and be influential without, 'take root downward and bear fruit upward,' on what aspects of religion does stress need chiefly to be laid to-day? Is the interest in spiritual things so excessive that Churches must in very despair urge their members to bear in mind outward and material considerations, the business, and politics, and amusements which rightly form a part of their complex existence? Or is it rather a question whether there is inward driving force enough to accomplish one tithe of what

the Churches of to-day are striving to do—force, that is, of so deeply spiritual and earnestly Christian a kind that all things shall be done in a Christian way, and so done that the kingdom of Christ, not any of the kingdoms of this world, shall prevail?

By 'corporate action of the Church' we may, perhaps, understand the utterances of ministers in the pulpit, the speeches made on Church platforms, and the resolutions passed at Church meetings. Judging by these evidences, who can question that the centre of gravity, if we may so speak, of modern Church life is rapidly passing from the region of the spiritual to the worldly, and from the distinctively religious to the ethical, social, and political aspects of current questions? Is the pulpit the place, and is Sunday the day, for discussing modes of political action on which good Christians may very well differ? The interest of the younger ministry tends largely in the direction of the external, the 'practical (so-called), the excitements of public life, the clash and conflict in which those who strive and cry, and cause their voices to be heard in the street, are eulogized as the men of real force. Concentration upon the sources of spiritual life is dubbed 'Quietism,' or 'Pietism,' or 'Individualism,' and is disparaged as futile in comparison with the promotion of social and political reform. Only a certain amount of time—to take the lowest ground—is available for the minister in his addresses and for Church members in their meetings. If it is bestowed upon one object, it is necessarily withdrawn from others. The fund of spiritual energy is low enough at the best; if it is spent in one direction, it must be diminished in another, and the reserve may soon disappear. If attention be concentrated upon the spiritual, 'other things' will follow, but the process cannot be reversed.

But this is not the chief danger. The ideal suffers. As 'Nonconformist Minister' puts it, 'The Church exists for the sake of spiritual ideals, for the sake of making character, of inspiring and creating goodness.' Or, as Dr. Forsyth more evangelically expresses it, 'The Church exists for the gospel of the manifold grace of God in Jesus Christ the Saviour, for the sake of making that living and penitent faith which works out into all love, goodness, and character.' We have omitted from both extracts the word 'solely,' both writers contending that the Church exists solely for the objects named. That is the point at issue between them and some of their fellow Christians. But if all Christians can admit that the Church does exist

mainly for these high objects, can any question that in these days there is serious danger lest the first things should not be kept first, but that matters of twentieth-rate importance for the Church—however important to the politician—are being thrust into the front rank? Politicians—on both sides—are only too glad to capture Church organizations for their own purposes. How many preachers and members to-day seem to keep their zeal to be spent upon political, social, and economical reform, whilst they seldom speak, or with bated breath and faltering voice, on the deepest truths of the gospel and the inner spiritual life? 'At home in politics, but at sea in Christ,' says Dr. Forsyth; that is a serious charge to make against any Christian. If it be true of a minister, it is fatal.

We are no pessimists. Spiritual life in the Churches is neither dead nor dying. But those who seek the true welfare of Christendom—who believe that in the Church of Christ as a whole, not in one extreme section of it, lies the hope of the world—will be increasingly anxious that the things which our Lord Himself put first and the Apostles kept first in primitive Christian experience, should maintain their absolute supremacy in these days, lest the light of life should fail and the salt of the earth lose its savour. For if even the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?

W. T. DAVISON.

THE EASTER FAITH

WHEN lectures on Christian Apologetics have been, by special request, delivered three times in Leipzig, and frequently in other German towns, they deserve to be published; moreover, they have established their claim to be carefully studied. The booklet¹ containing these lectures is entitled *Christianity and Science*. Its author proves himself competent to deal thoroughly and lucidly with the Christian idea of God as affected respectively by (1) modern Cosmology, (2) modern Biology, (3) modern Psychology. Having shown in the first three lectures that Christian Theism is consistent with the facts of modern

¹ *Christentum und Wissenschaft*. Von Gerhard Hilbert. M. 2. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

science, Pfarrer Hilbert proceeds, in the next three lectures, to examine critically the historic faith concerning (4) the Person, (5) the Work, and (6) the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The most recent literature on these subjects is referred to; but, for reasons assigned, the claim of the 'religious-historical' school to the exclusive use of the term 'scientific' is disallowed. A fair specimen of Hilbert's style and method is furnished in the last lecture, which has for its theme, 'The Resurrection of Jesus Christ.'

At the outset 'the modern man' is reminded that it is unscientific to say, before investigating the evidence, that there is no resurrection from the dead. Even the Agnostic, if he is consistent, will be anxious to ascertain what are the historic facts, what philosophy has to say, and what weight ought to be given to ethical and religious consideration. From these three points of view the fundamental question of Christianity, 'Is Christ risen?' is approached.

1. The historian asks: 'Have we the reports of eye-witnesses?' and the answer is, 'No.' There was no human witness of our Lord's rising from the tomb. But it is sufficient that the Risen Saviour appeared to disciples who have told us what they saw and what He said. The variations and apparent discrepancies in the narratives are frankly acknowledged. But it is maintained that only a childish naïveté would, for this reason, reject them as entirely untrustworthy. The jurist and the historian are better qualified to pronounce judgement on this question than 'the theologian who, in his study, lives remote from the world.' Prof. von Liszt made an experiment with students of criminal law. He arranged that there should be a dispute, ending with a revolver-shot. 'Out of these unquestionably competent and entirely disinterested witnesses not one correctly reported what happened. The smallest number of mistakes was four! Some errors were incredible. One ascribed the strongest expression in the dispute to a gentleman who took no part in it.' It was also asserted, without any truth, that he who fired the revolver retreated to the wall before seizing the weapon, &c. A scientific judgement must, therefore, remember what a jurist never forgets, namely, that when witnesses agree in all details, their agreement suggests either that they are in collusion, or that they have compared notes. In like manner, Droysen the historian emphasizes, in his text-book, the fact that 'historical material is never

complete.' It is well known how many mistakes there are in Bismarck's account of the battle of Sedan. Hilbert concludes that seeming discrepancies do not shake the credibility of the 'decisive fact' that many witnesses saw the Risen Saviour.

Good use is, however, made of St. Paul's list of Christ's appearances (1 Cor. xv. 3-8), to show that the oldest tradition records appearances both in Jerusalem and in Galilee. To impale readers of the Gospels on the horns of the dilemma: Did the Risen Saviour manifest Himself in Galilee or in Jerusalem? is to raise a false issue. The difficulties involved in all hypotheses which strive to account for the Apostles' belief in Christ's resurrection, whilst denying the fact, are clearly brought out. This section closes with a forceful plea for the necessity of linking this unique event with the history—prior and subsequent—of this unique Person. 'He made His disciples not independent, but ever more dependent on Himself. . . . Was this short-sighted policy? No; for He knew that He would be with them all the days, even unto the end of the world. He is the Saviour of the world, and yet He limits His ministry to Israel. . . . Gradually He confines Himself to yet more narrow circles, but He never relaxes His world-embracing claims. What is the explanation? There is but *one*; He knew that He would rise to a world-wide activity.' Then follows an excellent summary of the argument that the history of Christianity is an absolute riddle, unless it be true that Jesus lives.

2. Attempts, in the interests of materialistic views of the world, to discredit the historic evidence are next considered. Many assume that it is enough to say: 'Never has a dead man risen; it is contrary to all experience, and to the laws of nature.' Falling back on the proof given in a previous chapter that 'the human spirit is not derived from the material world,' Hilbert argues that there is no scientific reason compelling us to deny the possibility of the spirit's survival of the decay of the body. 'As it came from another world, it may pass to another world.' It is further maintained that neither historically nor philosophically is anything gained by adopting the theory that it was the spirit of Jesus that was seen by His disciples, but that His body did not rise. The historian is confronted by the witness of those who are trustworthy, and by the empty grave; the philosopher knows that the survival of pure spirit is, to the modern mind, more unthinkable than resurrection in a spiritual body. As regards the final difficulty—the glorifying or spiritual-

izing of the body of Jesus—Hilbert says that we must get rid of what Von Hartmann calls 'the superstition of the substantiality of matter,' and trust the teachings of modern science, which asserts that matter is 'localized energy.' Energy is not material, but spiritual. If, therefore, the matter of our body must ultimately be classed as spiritual, 'why may it not be still further spiritualized, dematerialized, glorified?' That the spirit can exert influence upon matter, psychology has been driven to admit. Hence, on these and other grounds, 'the unbiassed modern Agnostic must admit that the resurrection of Jesus Christ is scientifically credible.'

3. Credibility is one thing, but reality is another thing. The resurrection of Jesus is a miracle, and to convince us that it really happened, it must be seen to fit into the divine purpose in the world. Briefly stated, Hilbert's position is that 'without it there is no guarantee that life has an abiding purpose, and that the moral personality will persist.' Of what avail is increasing control of Nature's laws, when science leaves man helpless in the presence of temptation? Buddhism and Pessimism, by their negations, prove that only as a personal spirit does man retain his abiding worth as a moral personality. But if on Calvary a moral personality, 'stainlessly pure, and infinitely strong in unselfish love,' falls a victim to unrighteous hate and is annihilated by death, what hope is there that any human spirit will survive, howsoever great its moral worth? It would seem to be a postulate of our moral and religious consciousness that, if in Jesus Christ the moral ideal was realized, He must triumph over sin and death. 'If Jesus rose from the dead, His spirit freed itself from the grip of material laws, and compelled them to be its servants. The personality of Jesus triumphed over the impersonal world—that is pre-eminently the significance of His bodily resurrection. . . . Thus, His resurrection is the sure guarantee alike of the salvation of our moral personality and of the final victory of the moral world-order by the power of God.'

Summing up his able and well-sustained argument, Hilbert says that for the truth of the Easter message, 'Christ is risen,' there is credible historical evidence, that on scientific grounds the resurrection of Jesus from the dead cannot be pronounced impossible, and that the facts of the personal, moral, and religious life are strongly confirmatory of its reality. Nevertheless, for abiding personal certainty one thing will always be

essential, and that is personal experience. It is for moral reasons that the Risen Lord cannot manifest Himself to all with irresistible demonstration that He is alive for evermore. The setting up of the kingdom of God upon earth means the salvation of the moral personality; therefore, the decision for Christ must not be an enforced, but a moral decision. Those who affect to regard faith as unworthy of the scientific mind are told, in the words of Wundt, that 'the newest philosophy does not aim at transmuting faith into knowledge, but at establishing the necessity of faith.' In the last resort it is unscientific to ignore or to underestimate the significance of the fact that, throughout the ages, personal experience has been to countless multitudes the infallible proof that Jesus lives.

J. G. TASKER.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

The Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, published by the Clarendon Press in two large volumes, will afford much food for theologians and scholars in all parts of the world. The late M. Jean Réville, of Paris, was the prime mover in the institution of these Congresses, and he was much missed at Oxford. The first Congress was held at Paris during the Exposition of 1900; the second at Basle in 1904. Oxford had a special right to act as host to the third Congress, for Jowett long ago pointed out the great value of the study of the religions of the world, and was, in his last years, engaged on an essay upon the subject which was never finished. Max Müller did much to familiarize scholars with the study of comparative religion, and the Oxford University Press has issued fifty sacred books of the East.

Dr. Tylor's work in the field of anthropology has also rendered eminent service to the cause. Sir A. C. Lyall, in his presidential address, dwelt upon Christianity and Islam as the religions of the West, Buddhism and Hinduism as the religions of the East. The religion of the Roman Empire was falling into multitudinous confusion when Christianity arose—an austere, exclusive faith, with its army of saints, ascetics, and unflinching martyrs, proclaiming worship to be due to one God

only, and sternly refusing to acknowledge the divinity of the Emperor.' The struggle was severe, but the spiritual and moral forces of Christianity triumphed. When the empire fell the Church knit the Western races together. Then it had to face a prolonged contrast with Islam, which generated fierce fanaticism on both sides. It became a recognized opinion, both in Christianity and Islam, that 'the State was bound to enforce orthodoxy; conversion and the suppression or expulsion of heretics were public duties.' In India the fortunes of Buddhism and Brahmanism have never been linked to those of the ruling power; but in China Buddhism was alternately persecuted and protected, expelled and restored, by Imperial decree. Sir A. C. Lyall thinks our British-Indian position of complete religious neutrality is unique among Asiatic governments, and almost unknown in Europe. There is much to think about in this address; but it is when we turn to the section dealing with 'Religions of the Lower Culture' that we find how fruitful the Congress really was. No department of anthropology has proved more fascinating than the study of such religious beliefs and practices. Prof. Tylor here led the way, and his method has been approved by later study. Dr. Frazer has made special study of the relations between magic and religion. In Mexico Dr. Preuss finds many vigorous remains of the old paganism, even among the superficially Christianized peoples. All the papers in this section tempt quotation. Mr. Spilsbury's account of the 'Religious Beliefs of the Principal Native Tribes of South America' is the result of over thirty years' residence and travel among them, supplemented by constant research among the old writings of the Jesuit Fathers and heroes of the Conquest. It is generally acknowledged that the conception of one great Spirit, the Creator of all things, was universally spread among the aboriginal tribes of South America. Worship was of the most elementary form, the hope of immortality was general, and 'myths of the deluge are abundant, but all have special local features, which are a proof of their authenticity.'

To the section on 'Religions of India and Iran' Dr. James H. Moulton contributed a paper on 'Syncretism in Religion as Illustrated in the History of Parsism.' The three main types of Avestan texts answer broadly to the three forces which have joined in the making of Parsism. The characteristics of Magian religion are traced out with a master's ease, and the features of Parsism, which we may assign to Zarathushtra himself, are

thus reached. Dr. Moulton credits the reformer with those features of Parsism which turn away from Aryan nature-cultus towards a highly abstract and spiritual religious atmosphere. His reform was, in Darius's day, probably confined almost exclusively to the Court circles. The section on the 'Religions of the Greeks and Romans' has a paper on 'Bird and Pillar Worship in Connexion with Ouranian Divinities,' by Miss Jane E. Harrison. In Minoan days there was a public cultus of birds with regular established ritual. Five full-page illustrations make this paper of special interest. Dr. Sanday presided over the section which discussed 'The Christian Religion,' and surveyed the literature of the subject during the last four years. That general view will be of great service to students. Dr. Loofs, in a paper on 'Christ's Descent into Hell,' traces back the history of the descent-idea from our own time to the Middle Ages, then to the 'Gospel of Nicodemus,' about the fourth century. From that point he is able to work back to the second half of the second century. Prof. Loofs is convinced that the Epistle to the Hebrews is aware of the descent-idea in xi. 39, 'They without us should not be made perfect'; and xii. 22 sq., where the Holy of Holies has evidently been opened to Old Testament saints by Christ. Dr. Loofs thinks that 'the statements of the epistle become richer and clearer if we do not exclude the idea that Christ, through His descent to Hades and His ascent thence, prepared both for the Old Testament saints and for Christians the way to eternal life.' We have given some faint conception of the riches of these two volumes. Theology is a new science to-day; and if every subject is canvassed freely we have no reason to doubt that faith will emerge triumphant from all tests that are applied to it.

ALLEGORY IN SCRIPTURE

THE application of the allegorizing method to Scripture is at present greatly discounted among readers and commentators. It is difficult for us to believe that it reigned almost without challenge or rival from the earliest Christian days down to the time of the Reformation. The supremacy of the plain historical method is now assured, and rightly so. The cause of the

revolution that has taken place is to be found partly in the development of the historical spirit and partly in the abuse of allegorical methods. The article on the subject by Dr. Massie in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* gives the modern estimate. An old essay by the commentator, Hermann Olshausen, on the 'deeper sense' of Scripture goes somewhat more fully into the subject. While the former writer differentiates allegory from its related ideas, such as type and parable, the latter treats the question in a wider sense. We must distinguish between moral and spiritual applications which teachers and expositors are at liberty to make for themselves, and similar applications which we are justified in attributing to the writers of Scripture. It is the latter aspect of the method which Olshausen seeks to defend and illustrate.

The origin of the method is older than Christianity. It was recognized and used extensively in the days of Christ among the Jews both of Egypt and Palestine. The former are represented by the great Jewish scholar Philo, and by Aristobulus two centuries earlier. The allegory of Palestinian Judaism, described by Josephus and the high-priest Eleazar, is embodied in the vast literature of the Cabbala and Talmud, which although post-Christian in form is pre-Christian in matter. The method was also applied by the Greeks to Homer and Hesiod. Some have derived the Jewish system from Greece; but this is out of the question. Jews would not learn from pagans. All these writers are not inventing a new method, but simply using one already existing, whose beginning is lost in mists of antiquity. Allegory was never born, it grew; and there is no more to be said about cause and origin. The Christian Fathers, from Justin, Clement, Origen downwards, simply borrowed from the Jews.

The Scripture use cannot be dismissed by a curt reference to a single passage in Paul. It is pervasive and characteristic of Scripture in Old and New Testament alike. Correspondence between the natural and the spiritual, between type and anti-type, between preparation and fulfilment, is everywhere assumed. The parables assume that the material is a prophetic symbol of the spiritual. The earliest religious teaching is necessarily by symbol and rite. In the Old Testament circumcision, sacrifice, the law written on tables of stone, are examples in point. Such objects as Zion, Jerusalem, Israel, Jacob, are idealized. The nation of Israel is treated as a type of the

kingdom of God on earth. The 78th Psalm views the history of Israel as a picture of God's dealing with nations generally. 'I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter dark sayings of old.' Abraham, Melchizedek, and especially David, are types of things to come. In the New Testament the Epistle to the Hebrews and Revelation are full of the allegorical idea. But not these only. There are more references of the kind in the other Epistles and the Gospels than is commonly supposed. The underlying assumption is that the old dispensation was throughout, as a whole and in detail, a figure of the new. The second Adam corresponds in a reverse way to the first. That Jesus Himself used the ancient Scripture in this sense is clear from Luke xxiv. 27, as well as elsewhere (see John v. 46). The Passover also is a plain example. In this state of things the Old Testament can never lose its value for Christians. We can only understand the New from the Old. Augustine says well, 'Novum Testamentum latet in Vetere, Vetus patet in Novo.'

Olshausen points the contrast between the sober, restrained use of allegory in Scripture and the wild extravagance too often found in the Jewish, and even in the Christian, use. In the former case the real, historical sense is always held fast, the allegorical application is according to law and order, the aim is moral instruction and improvement. In all these respects the practice elsewhere is very different. The following are some of the moral lessons taught in the grand style. Israel nationally and individually represents the normal relation of mankind and individuals to God; it represents God's purpose concerning all and the issues of that purpose. The relation between Israel and its enemies on the whole is a type of the conflict always going on between the world's good and evil. A similar parallel is drawn between Israel and Christ. Israel was called God's Son, a destiny which it was far from realizing nationally or individually. Christ is the perfect Son. 'But are we, then, to regard the history of all nations and all great men in the same light? Certainly. The principle is universally true. The difference is in the realization. The chief point is, that of the Jewish nation only we have a connected account, composed by God-enlightened men who had the spiritual discernment to see the hand of God in all the leadings of the nation. Without such a divine narrative we could not understand the Jewish history as a type of humanity, and Christ, and every individual; with such a conception the histories of all nations would receive

a higher spiritual interpretation.' The symbolic character of the Jewish ritual is also set forth in Scripture with similar clearness and restraint.

If old preachers and expositors went too far in the use of type and allegory, moderns have, perhaps, erred as much in the opposite direction, and so lost an effective means of instruction. To treat the two parts of Scripture as independent and almost antagonistic systems is essentially mistaken. The Old is superseded by the New, as youth is superseded by age, spring by summer. Christ came not to abolish, but to fulfil.

J. S. BANKS.

A MOHAMMEDAN EXPOSITION OF SUFEEISM

SUFEEISM consists essentially in giving up oneself constantly to devotional exercises, in living solely for God, in abandoning all the frivolous attractions of the world, in disregarding the ordinary aims of men—pleasures, riches and honours—and finally in separating oneself from society for the sake of practising devotion to God. This way of life was extremely common among the companions of the Prophet and the early Moslems. But when in the second century of Islam and the succeeding centuries the desire for worldly wealth had spread, and ordinary men allowed themselves to be drawn into the current of a dissipated and worldly life, the persons who gave themselves up to piety were distinguished by the name of 'Sufis,' or aspirants to Sufecism.

The most probable derivation is from 'suf' (wool), for, as a rule, Sufis wear woollen garments to distinguish themselves from the crowd, who love gaudy attire.

For an intelligent being possessed of a body, thought is the joint product of the perception of events which happen from without, and of the emotions to which they give rise within, and is that quality which distinguishes man from animals. These emotions proceed one from another; just as knowledge is born of arguments, joy and sadness spring from the perception of that which causes grief or pleasure. Similarly with the disciple of the spiritual life in the warfare which he wages with himself, and in his devotional exercises. Every struggle

which he has with his passions produces in him a state resulting from this struggle. This state is either a disposition to piety which, strengthening by repetition, becomes for him a 'station' (*maqām*), or merely an emotion which he undergoes, such as joy, merriment, &c.

The disciple of the spiritual life continues to rise from one station to another, till he arrives at the knowledge of the Divine Unity and of God, the necessary condition for obtaining felicity, conformably to the saying of the Prophet: 'Whosoever dies while confessing that there is no God but God, shall enter Paradise.'

Progress through these different stages is gradual. They have as their common foundation obedience and sincerity of intention; faith precedes and accompanies them, and from them proceed the emotions and qualities, the transient and permanent modifications of the soul; these emotions and qualities go on producing others in a perpetual progression which finally arrives at the station of the knowledge of the Unity of God. The disciple of the spiritual life needs to demand an account of his soul in all its actions, and to keep an attentive eye on the most hidden recesses of his heart; for actions must necessarily produce results, and whatever evil is in results betokens a corresponding evil in actions.

There are but a few persons who imitate the Sufis in this practice of self-examination, for negligence and indifference in this respect are almost universal. Pious men who have not risen to this class (the mystics) only aim at fulfilling the works commanded by the law in all the completeness laid down by the science of jurisprudence. But the mystics examine scrupulously the results of these works, the effects and impressions which they produce upon the soul. For this purpose they use whatever rays of divine illumination may have reached them while in a state of ecstasy, with the object of assuring themselves whether their actions are exempt or not from some defect. The essence of their system is this practice of obliging the soul often to render an account of its actions and of what it has left undone. It also consists in the development of those gifts of discrimination and ecstasy which are born out of struggles with natural inclinations, and which then become for the disciple stations of progress.

The Sufis possess some rules of conduct peculiar to themselves, and make use of certain technical expressions. Of these

Ghazzali has treated in *Ihya-ul-ulum* ('Revival of the Religious Sciences'). He speaks of the laws regulating devotion, he explains the rules and customs of the Sufis and the technical terms which they use. Thus the system of the Sufis, which was at first only a special way of carrying on worship, and the laws of which were only handed on by example and tradition, was methodized and reduced to writing, like the exegesis of the Koran, the Traditions, Jurisprudence, and so forth.

This spiritual combat and this habit of meditation are usually followed by a lifting of the veils of sense, and by the perception of certain worlds which form part of the 'things of God' (knowledge of which He has reserved for Himself). The sensual man can have no perception of such things.

Disentanglement from the things of sense and consequent perception of invisible things takes place when the spirit, giving up the uses of exterior senses, only uses interior ones; in this state the emotions proceeding from the former grow feebler, while those which proceed from the spirit grow stronger; the spirit dominates, and its vigour is renewed.

Now, the practice of meditation contributes materially to this result. It is the nourishment by which the spirit grows. Such growth continues till what was the knowledge of One absent becomes the consciousness of One present, and the veils of sense being lifted, the soul enjoys the fullness of the faculties which belong to it in virtue of its essence, i. e. perception. On this plane it becomes capable of receiving divine grace and knowledge granted by the Deity. Finally its nature as regards the real knowledge of things as they are, approaches the loftiest heaven, the heaven of angelic beings.

This disentanglement from things of sense takes place oftenest in men who practise the spiritual combat, and thus they arrive at a perception of the real nature of things such as is impossible to any beside themselves. Similarly they often know of events before they arrive; and by the power of their prayers and their spiritual force, they hold sway over inferior beings who are obliged to obey them.

The greatest of the mystics do not boast of this disentanglement from things of sense and this rule over inferior creatures; unless they have received an order to do so, they reveal nothing of what they have learnt of the real nature of things. These supernatural workings are painful, and when they experience them they ask God for deliverance.

The companions of the Prophet also practised this spiritual warfare; like the mystics, they were overwhelmed with these tokens of divine favour such as the power to walk on the water, to pass through fire without being burnt, to receive their food in miraculous ways, but they did not attach great importance to them. Abu-bekr, Omar, and Ali were distinguished by a great number of these supernatural gifts, and their manner of viewing them was followed by the mystics who succeeded them.

But among the moderns there are men who have set great store by obtaining this disentanglement from things of sense, and by speaking of the mysteries discovered when this veil is removed. To reach this goal they have had recourse to different methods of asceticism in which the intellectual soul is nourished by meditation to the utmost of its capacity, and enjoys in its fullness the faculty of perception which constitutes its essence. According to them, when a man has arrived at this point, his perception comprehends all existence and the real nature of things without a veil, from the throne of God to the smallest drops of rain. Ghazzali describes the ascetic practices which are necessary to arrive at this state.

This condition of disentanglement from the things of sense is only held to be perfect when it springs from right dispositions. For there are, as a matter of fact, persons who profess to live in retirement and to fast without possessing right dispositions; such are sorcerers, Christians, and others who practise ascetic exercises. We may illustrate this by the image of a well-polished mirror. According as its surface is convex or concave, the object reflected in it is distorted from its real shape; if, on the contrary, the mirror has a plane surface, the object is reflected exactly as it is. Now, what a plane surface is for the mirror, a right disposition is for the soul, as regards the impressions it receives from without.

C. FIELD.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

Codex Taurinensis. Transcribed and collated by Rev. W. O. Oesterley, D.D. (Frowde. 4s. net.)

THE MS. of the Greek version of the Twelve Prophets, known as Codex Y, is preserved in Turin, and has not thus far been reproduced and edited. Dr. Oesterley has performed a public service in preparing it for the use of scholars, and the Oxford University Press has issued it in its usual wellnigh perfect style. The value of the Codex lies in this, that it is the earliest known MS. of the minor prophets in the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint. Valuable readings are found in Lucian's recension, which show—in the judgement of Dr. Driver and other eminent scholars—that he had access to a Hebrew original superior in many respects to the existing Massoretic text. That means, of course, that by the aid of this recension we are enabled to solve some of the difficulties arising from unquestionable corruptions in the received text of the Old Testament. Material for this purpose is scanty enough. The history of the text of the LXX needs to be still further elucidated before it can be fully utilized in textual criticism. This work has to be done a step at a time. One such step is taken by the publication of the volume before us, which will enable scholars to examine and discuss the special readings of a hitherto uncollated MS. Dr. Oesterley has done his work with care and skill. He gives a full account of Codex Y, which has unfortunately been damaged both by fire and by water, but which is still legible in three-fourths of its contents. The *Apparatus Criticus* includes citations not only from the leading uncials, but also from all the Lucianic MSS. at present known, the old Latin texts, and sundry hexaplaric readings. A large part of the material has already been published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, but all who are engaged in biblical

research will know how to value the addition to their libraries of this useful volume and admirable specimen of English scholarship and enterprise.

Jesus: Seven Questions. By Dr. J. Warschauer. (James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

In his modest Preface the author 'trusts that while all the questions treated in the compass of this volume form the subject of controversy, he may have succeeded, even when expressing dissent from the views of others, in steering clear of that asperity from which theological writings unfortunately are not always free.' The ideal thus sketched is fully attained in the pages which follow. It is not too much to say that if the writings of the pastor of the City Temple had been characterized by the chasteness of style and unfailing courtesy which mark Dr. Warschauer's writing, 'The New Theology' would have had immeasurably greater chance of being thoughtfully considered, even where it could by no means be finally accepted. The seven questions concerning Jesus proposed by the writer of this volume are as follows: 'Son of man or Son of God?—Was He sinless?—Did He work miracles?—Had He power to forgive sins?—Is belief in Him necessary to salvation?—Did He rise from the dead?—Did He die for us?' And the general reply is best summarized in his own words. 'We reaffirm emphatically that He is indeed the Son of God, the very image of His substance, God manifest in the flesh; that He was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin; we believe that no tale of wonder told concerning Him can do more than shadow forth His true and incomparable grandeur; that He had power to forgive sins; that we are saved by belief in Him; that the grave could not hold Him, but that He manifested Himself to His own again; and that He set the crown upon His earthly mission by dying for us men. "Greater love hath no man."—Thus all the questionings of our restless age, faced fearlessly, do but serve to set forth the undimmed splendour of the Christ of God, establishing anew, and more firmly than ever, His title to be the Son, the Revealer, the Mediator, the Example, the Saviour—Himself the glorious Gospel of the Blessed God.' If such a finding is added to the avowal in the Preface, that 'when modern criticism and modern thought have obtained a full hearing, the essential verities of our faith

—the divinity of our Lord, the incarnation of God in Him, and the atonement of God and man through Him—remain not only unshaken, but more firmly established than ever,' it would seem to the ordinary reader that the 'new movement,' of which our author is one of the most distinguished advocates, is scarcely new at all. Are not all these, it may well be asked, the very essentials for which the Evangelical Churches, at all events, have ever stood? To which query but one answer is possible, however much we may desire to echo and perpetuate this author's constant courtesy. They are not what they seem. The words are the same, but the significance is different. We welcome the book, and indeed are not a little thankful that such a volume should in these days be sent forth into the conflicting crowd of modern religious and anti-religious publications. We may freely acknowledge that it constitutes a real gospel, but it is certainly not that presentation of the Christian faith which is conveyed by the term Evangelical—understanding it even in the latest and most careful definition. We may make here no detailed criticism; out of many possible considerations it is enough to suggest one simple test. Does this modern statement of the gospel find any place for the doctrine of the Trinity? It does not. In the whole of the volume before us there is no single reference either to the Person and work of the Holy Spirit, or to the conception of a Trinity in the divine nature. The eighth question, therefore, which has to be faced in regard to Jesus, not considered here, is whether He, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, together constitute the true triune God, or whether after all Arius was right? That query is at least as real, as applicable, as important, as any of these seven, and upon its answer must turn our judgement as to whether this gospel is or is not the same as Paul preached and John endorsed. Even if we accepted our author's dictum that the writer of the Fourth Gospel 'has not written—he never intended to write—a history, as history is understood by us,' yet his 'commentary on the Synoptic Gospels' has to be reckoned with. And much as we admire the real scholarship, the beautiful spirit, the truly Christian fervour, which characterize these pages, we cannot concede that the writer does justice even to the material he accepts. This volume, for all its thoughtful attractiveness, gives us a Christ who, in spite of all protests to the contrary, is none other than that of cultured Unitarianism. In such hands as those of Dr. Warschauer such a con-

ception may be restated and pronounced 'Christo-centric,' but we must still go on to assert that this is not the Jesus Christ of the New Testament.

Dictionary of the Bible. (T. & T. Clark. 20s. net.)

This new *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by Dr. James Hastings, so well known by his other great dictionaries, assisted by Dr. John A. Selbie, Dr. John C. Lambert, and Dr. Shailer Mathews, Professor of Theology and Dean of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago, supplies a deeply felt need. It comprises 992 pages of matter, well printed, in double columns. The publishers' note very clearly and accurately states the design and scope of the work. It is 'entirely distinct from the five-volume dictionary. It is complete in one volume. The articles are new. Some of the authors are the same as in the large dictionary, but they have not written on the same subjects. It is not based on any other dictionary, but is a wholly new and original work. The articles are signed by their authors. This is the first time that all the articles in a single-volume dictionary of the Bible have been committed to specialists, and bear their signatures, as in the largest dictionaries.'

The names of the contributors guarantee the value of the work to Bible students. We can only mention a few of them: Dr. J. S. Banks, Dr. W. T. Davison, Dr. G. G. Findlay, Dr. R. W. Moss, Dr. J. H. Moulton, Rev. W. J. Moulton, M.A., Dr. J. G. Tasker, Dr. S. R. Driver, Dr. Garvie, Professor S. W. Green, M.A., Dr. H. M. Gwatkin, Dr. D. S. Margoliouth, Dr. A. H. Sayce, Dr. W. H. Griffith Thomas. There are over ninety other contributors, all of whom are well chosen for the work they were selected to do.

The articles are not of excessive brevity—twenty-four pages are allowed to the article on Israel; twenty-three pages to the article on Jesus Christ; and half that number to a further article on the Person of Christ. The names given above and those upon the list of contributors are abreast of the best scholarship of the day, and none of them take up an extreme position on either side. For this reason we can commend the work to those who are unable to follow those who are termed 'very advanced' scholars. There are four good maps. We have examined the work under various 'headings,' and have

found it marked by great freshness, force, and life. We strongly commend it to our readers as a work of permanent utility.

Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity justified in the Mind of Christ. By James Denney, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d.)

In his latest work Prof. Denney, like a skilful general, displays complete familiarity with the tactics of the rationalistic foes of the Christian faith, and concentrates his powerful arguments on those positions which have recently been most vigorously attacked. In Book I he asks: 'What is the place of Christ in New Testament faith?' In his reply he brings out clearly and convincingly the unity which underlies undeniable differences. 'We feel how potent the unity must be which can hold all this variety together.' A candid and searching investigation amply justifies the conclusion: 'there is really such a thing as a self-consistent New Testament, and a self-consistent Christian religion.'

The question of paramount importance in modern controversies is raised in Book II: 'Does Jesus, as He is revealed to us in history, justify the Christian religion as we have had it exhibited to us in the New Testament?' The answer involves an inquiry into the trustworthiness of the evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus, but Dr. Denney's most valuable contribution to the elucidation of his great theme is his detailed study of the earliest sources of our knowledge of the Mind of Christ. In regard to some details of exposition we are not in full accord with his view, but such slight disagreements do not affect our high estimate of the section on 'The self-revelation of Jesus.' It is a much needed and most effective proof that in the mind of Christ it is possible to vindicate the Christian faith.

The Background of the Gospels; or, Judaism in the Period between the Old and New Testaments. By William Fairweather, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 8s. net.)

Mr. Fairweather has done some careful and scholarly work on the history and literature of the period between the Testaments. In this volume he is not concerned with the narration of events, though the vital significance of the Maccabean

struggle leads him in that case to enter into details; his object is to trace developments and tendencies, and to paint the background of the picture which forms a setting for the gospel. After a preliminary chapter, in which the fundamental characteristics of Judaism are discussed, the features it assumed in Palestine are described, with an obvious and partially successful effort to distinguish between the forms assumed at different periods. To the apocalyptic movement, as a phenomenon of cardinal importance, a couple of illuminating chapters are given. And finally Alexandrian Judaism is noted as of exceptional interest in relation to Hellenistic culture; and the reader is disposed to regret that in this case also Mr. Fairweather has not neglected his rule of dispensing with historical details.

Our author is a recognized authority on the subject with which he deals; and he writes with an expert's knowledge of the particulars and an expert's simplicity and clearness. The book will delight a reader who is innocent of all technicalities, and a student will find it rich and worthy of close study. On several points there is room for a difference of opinion, and it is likely that some of the writer's views will not entirely commend themselves. These concern such vexed questions as the dates of the Psalms and the Apocalyptic books, of Daniel and the pseudo-Aristeas, the method of administration adopted by the Sanhedrin, and the like. Of the extent to which Persian influence poured through the channel of Babylonia, too much is probably made. The strength of the protests against dualism in the later prophets is an evidence of the existence in Judaism of the germ at least of that form of thought, and its introduction may well have taken place at a much earlier time. Nor is it likely that Philo was indebted to Persia for his devotion to such views, which could reach him better from another quarter. As to Egypt, little or no use is made of such evidences of Jewish thought and practice as can be found in the inscriptions and papyri. There is a good sketch of the Essenes, whose influence was felt, however, in orthodox as well as Gnostic circles after the fall of Jerusalem. The usefulness of the book is increased by the provision of such apparatus as a student delights in—an adequate analytical table of contents, a bibliography arranged approximately in chronological order, an appendix of valuable notes, and a series of three indexes.

Modernism. The Jowett Lectures, 1908. By Paul Sabatier.
Translated by C. A. Miles. (T. F. Unwin. 5s. net.)

These lectures have the charm of all M. Sabatier's writing. The melodious language, the felicitous illustration, the chivalrous defence of men who have to bear condemnation and reproach in their quest of truth, all lend peculiar interest to this apologia. There is another question as to which the lecturer is silent. How far are Loisy and those who share his views faithful to the vital truths of Christianity? On that side something must be said for Leo X and those who act with him, but M. Sabatier puts the case for the Modernists very persuasively, and will win much sympathy for the movement. He regards Modernism as an awakening. 'Had it occurred amid Protestant surroundings it would have taken the form of individual conversions and regenerations, but occurring amid Catholic surroundings it has taken the form of an intense need for communion—communion with the past by exegetical and historical study, communion with the present by a new apologetic and democratic endeavour, and communion with the future which men are striving to prepare.' The lecturer regards Leo X as perhaps the most obstinate pope, the least capable of being influenced, that Rome has known for a century. M. Sabatier thinks that 'the Modernist Catholic destroys nothing and gives up nothing; he accepts everything and makes it live.' There is something in the Church which is about to die, something which is about to start into new life. The Modernist believes in the unlimited progress of religious institutions, as did those who designed the great mediaeval cathedrals. He is persuaded that religion and the Church will be purified by the new movement, and gain stronger hold on the mind and conscience of the world. The lectures are followed by the two Encyclical Letters, the Petition from a group of French Catholics to the Pope, and the decree of the Inquisition. The Introduction, based on M. Loisy's volume of Letters, is of special importance.

A Commentary on the Holy Bible. By various writers.
Edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow, M.A. Complete in one volume, with general articles and maps. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

This is the most satisfactory and complete one-volume com-

mentary on the whole Bible that we know. No set of English and American scholars has ever before been enlisted in the preparation of such a work, and it is an honour to Methodism to see the names of Dr. Davison, Dr. Findlay, Mr. Lofthouse, Mr. Wilfrid Moulton, and Dr. Peake among the contributors. We have tested the work at many places, and found more light on difficult passages than any similar volume gives. Preachers and teachers will find the notes stimulating and helpful. As an introduction to the *Commentary*, 150 pages are given to history and literature between the Old and New Testaments, the Synoptic Problem, and such subjects as the Resurrection, the Atonement, Inspiration, and the Elements of Religion. These scholarly articles add much to the value of the work. If a Bible student were limited to one volume he would be wise to choose this. New light from all sources has been welcomed, whilst opinions of an extreme or precarious kind have been avoided. The volume contains nearly 1,300 pages, but it is easy to handle, and the type is specially clear. The text is not printed, so that there is ample room for notes and other matter.

Luke the Physician, and other Studies in the History of Religion. By W. M. Ramsay, Kt., Hon. D.C.L., &c. With thirty-eight illustrations. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12s.)

In Sir W. M. Ramsay's opinion, the 'vice of the nineteenth century,' which mars much of its New Testament criticism, is too exclusive consideration of words. His own writings are free from this vice, and in this handsome volume he shows once more that 'Lukan criticism keeps right only when the study of words is constantly controlled and directed by the observation of facts and realities.' The papers which are here republished are on themes of permanent interest, and the value of the original articles has been enhanced by modifications and enlargements. A series of essays on 'The Church of Lycaonia in the Fourth Century' reveals the importance of the numerous early Christian inscriptions as 'evidence for the development of Christianity in its earliest Anatolian seat.' Some interesting epitaphs are translated. A bishop is described as 'a friend to all men,' a presbyter as one 'who shone a star among the churches of God,' a priest as 'a man who on account of gentleness gained glory'; perhaps justice has not been done

to a certain Gregory by the rendering of some 'hardly intelligible' lines: 'a man who was a care to God through joyousness.' Attention may be directed to the following noteworthy articles: 'The Peasant God' shows that in Asia Minor 'religion led the way and fixed the rules for the creation of agriculture; and it has degenerated along with the agriculture and civilization of the land'; 'The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews' leads up to the conclusion that the Epistle was sent in A.D. 59 from the Church in Caesarea to the Jewish party of the Church in Jerusalem; 'this implies that the writer, practically speaking, was Philip, the deacon, and that the plan of composing such a letter had been discussed beforehand with Paul'; 'St. Paul's use of Metaphors from Greek and Roman Life' contains suggestions which expository preachers will find helpful.

The Acts of the Apostles. By Adolf Harnack. Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, M.A. (Williams & Norgate. 6s.)

Dr. Harnack here develops the position taken in *Luke the Physician*. After searching examination of the Acts of the Apostles he is astonished that critics do not treat Luke with more respect. The very fact that he sets himself to explain the origin of the mission to the Gentiles 'shows an amount of historical insight which claims the highest appreciation.' He has confined himself to the theme thus marked out, and 'the seeming gaps in his narrative become no gaps for us so soon as we realize the task he set himself.' In the second part of the Acts Luke's object is to bring the gospel to Rome. He sets St. Paul and his work in their true nobility and grandeur. Professor Harnack closes his introduction with the significant words: 'In an age wherein critical hypotheses, once upon a time not unfruitful, have hardened themselves into dogmas, and when, if an attempt is made to defend a book against prejudice, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation, scornful remarks are made about "special pleading," it is not superfluous to declare that the method which is here employed is influenced by no prepossession of any kind. It is, of course, disgraceful that the circumstances of criticism at the present day make such a declaration necessary.' St. Luke's work has 'been here accorded the position of credit which is its rightful due.' It is significant that the translator, who had formerly pronounced it

unscientific to suppose that Acts ii. was written by a companion of St. Paul who knew the real nature of the phenomenon of 'speaking with tongues,' has himself been converted by Dr. Harnack's noble and searching investigation.

Fellowship in the Life Eternal. An Exposition of the Epistles of St. John. By G. G. Findlay, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d.)

It is impossible in a brief notice to do justice to the masterly exposition with which Dr. Findlay has enriched the Christian Church. In the very title of his volume he has set forth that which has baffled the search of many a student of the First Epistle—its unity. 'Fellowship in the Life Eternal' is the glowing centre round which the apostle groups his thoughts. And what thoughts they are! The nature of God; the fact and effect of sin; the answering manifestation of love; the propitiation, in which love's divinest effect is seen; the knowledge of God which means communion with Him, and the deepening of that communion into sonship, until sin becomes 'unnatural in God's child,' and the divinity of love is seen in its perfection in human brotherliness,—such are but a few of the thoughts which Dr. Findlay brings out of this treasure-house to which he holds the key. With each of these he deals with the keen discrimination of a scholar, and with a spiritual insight which declares him the true interpreter of St. John. No student of the Scriptures can afford to be without this book, in which the exegesis is as true as the theology is profound. To the preacher it will bring 'new founts of inspiration,' and to every devout mind that searches into the inner meaning of words which 'are spirit and life' it will reveal the deep things of God. Those students are happy indeed who sit at the feet of such a teacher, and we rejoice that now this rich, true thought is brought within the reach of many others, who with grateful hearts will gather round the same master in Israel.

The Tests of Life. A study of the First Epistle of St. John, being the Kerr Lectures for 1909. By the Rev. Robert Law, B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Law's method of exposition differs from that adopted by other writers on this epistle, in that he has grouped together 'the passages bearing upon a common theme.' His

work is really an able and instructive treatment of the theology of this epistle, and his chapters bear such headings as 'The Doctrine of God as Righteousness and Love,' 'The Doctrine of Propitiation,' 'The Doctrine of Assurance,' &c. The method has distinct advantages, and its attendant disadvantages are to a large extent overcome by admirable exegetical notes. Mr. Law finds that 'the subject-matter of the epistle consists mainly in the presentation, from various points of view, of three crucial characteristics of all that is genuinely Christian—Righteousness, Love, and true Belief.' Of especial excellence are the chapters which expound St. John's teaching on the Person and Work of Christ. In a few instances we should prefer a different interpretation, but of Mr. Law's Kerr Lectures, as a whole, we can speak with hearty commendation. His exposition is scholarly, luminous, evangelical and edifying.

The Religion of the Common Man. By Sir Henry Wrixon, K.C. (Macmillan. 3s. net.)

The question of the existence of God is no longer confined to philosophers and theologians, 'but has been brought down among the crowd, is ventilated in cheap literature, and debated by popular speakers at Sunday gatherings in the parks.' Sir Henry Wrixon sets himself to record the reflections and conclusions of a man of average intellect and ordinary information, as he muses upon such problems. He holds that if 'the universal voice of human supplication to Heaven, poured forth in continuing succession from age to age, from civilization to civilization, like one great constant prayer from the race of man to its Creator,' has 'no real object to justify or explain it,' then our existence here must be declared to be not merely perplexing, but unmeaning and futile. The common man sees in the wonders of creation, in the working of instinct and intellect, and in the moral sense of man that there is an intelligence behind all these things which is God. History, as Sir Henry shows in his fifth chapter, supports this conclusion, and the great majority of the thinkers of the race confirm it. The difficulties raised by the existence of evil are wisely handled, and the whole treatment will be reassuring to minds that have been exercised by such questions. Sir Henry Wrixon's argument will prepare the way for that Christian truth which is needed to crown it.

The Spirit of Christ in Common Life. By Charles Bigg, D.D. (Longmans. 6s. net.)

These addresses and sermons have been selected and edited by the Dean of Christ Church, with an introduction by the Bishop of Oxford. Dr. Paget's tribute prepares us for a volume of unusual charm. He says that the power of Dr. Bigg's preaching at Oxford was felt and acknowledged by many who are not apt, in most matters, to judge alike. Undergraduates and choristers 'found themselves listening with strange interest, and some surprise, to a preacher who did not seem to be thinking much about any of them, who was simply bent upon his own thoughts, and yet set them all thinking.' The seven addresses given at Cuddesdon College, at a retreat for Oxford tutors, are a survey of 'The Trials and Blessings of a Scholar's Life.' The next two deal with 'Blessings and Trials of a Country Parson' in a refreshing and stimulating way. There are four ordination addresses delivered at Farnham Castle, and nearly twenty sermons. Each has its own note of distinction, and all are the work of a strong, sagacious, and devout Christian thinker.

Christianity and other Religions. By S. R. Driver, D.D. and W. Sanday, D.D. (Longmans & Co., 1s. 6d. net.)

Three sermons preached in Christ Church Cathedral in the weeks preceding the Congress for the History of Religion. The old view of the Christian religion as a circle of light amid the darkness of the world 'was not really capable of being fitted into any large and comprehensive scheme of Divine Providence.' Dr. Sanday shows that we should be 'prepared to find that there are many more connecting links than we have been apt to suppose between Christianity' and other religions. Dr. Driver dwells on the beliefs and practices common to various religions in a suggestive and impressive way. The sermons may justly be described as illuminating.

Epochs in the Life of Jesus. By A. T. Robertson, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Robertson is Professor of New Testament Interpretation in a Baptist seminary in Kentucky, and has for twenty years been training ministers. He feels that his theme is exhaustless, and has not burdened his pages with authorities, but striven to call attention 'to the movement and climacteric power in

the career of Christ.' If the reader can thus 'realize' Jesus, he will find the Gospels luminous with fresh light. He divides his subject into eight chapters: 'The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus; The First Appeal of Jesus; The New Departure; The Galilean Campaign; The Special Training of the Twelve; The Attack upon Jerusalem; The Answer of Jerusalem; The Final Triumph of Jesus.' Dr. Robertson writes as one who feels that it is irrational to attempt any merely human explanation of Jesus. He is both orthodox and evangelical. His book has caught a glow from its subject, and will deepen faith and reverent love in all who read it.

The Fullness of Christ. By E. S. Talbot, D.D. (Macmillan. 1s. 6d. net.)

The Other World. By W. Garrett Horder. (Macmillan. 3s. net.)

God's Message Through Modern Doubt. By E. Aldom French. (Duckworth. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Work of Christ. By F. Warburton Lewis. (Culley. 2s. 6d.)

University Sermons. By Hugh Black. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The Sermons of Henry Smith. Edited by John Brown, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

The tendencies of our times require a religion which is 'simply, broadly, and comprehensively human,' and Dr. Talbot shows how Christianity justifies itself by its power to act as centre of the world's life. Its one aim is 'the perfect union of the divine and the human, of God and man.' The first sermon, 'Christus Consummator,' brings out the fact that the influence of Jesus Christ is the salient fact in the world of to-day. He takes a central place alike in life and knowledge, honouring truth and goodness wherever found. The little volume will bear reading again and again, and with every fresh perusal faith in Christ will grow deeper and hope for the world will become stronger.

Mr. Horder's sermons appeal strongly to those who think deeply about the future life. We are often cordially in agreement with his teaching, but we cannot follow him when he

speaks of some aspects of reward and punishment beyond the grave, or where he adopts the Rev. Henry Latham's view as to the grave-wrappings left in our Lord's tomb. Still, this is a frank, reverent, and suggestive discussion of a subject surrounded by mystery.

Mr. Aldom French will take high rank as a true and forcible preacher by his first volume. He loses no time in getting into his subject, he deals honestly with its difficulties, he has a fine gift of illustration, and he is always helpful to sincere seekers after truth, and to those who are perplexed by the problems of pain and bereavement. The titles of the sermons are striking, the style is strong and clear, the themes are those with which the modern pulpit is bound to deal if it would reach out a helping hand to the doubting and the troubled.

As a rule the present reviewer cannot pretend to be enamoured of published sermons. The volumes which appear rarely possess that touch of distinction which alone seems to justify their publication. From time to time, however, we meet with the exception. Mr. Warburton Lewis's book is the exception. These sermons are sermons to be read and pondered. The preacher has his own message. He looks at life with a free vision, and our hearts as well as our minds are blessed as we endeavour to see with him. There is insight here and brave thought and, above all, reverence. By all means buy this book. Mr. Lewis has done well to publish it, and many will do well to study it.

Professor Black's sermons need no commendation. They stand apart, with their own peculiar charm and method and power. Their author is known to two great publics as a writer with a rare gift of insight, matched with a fine power of exposition, and this volume will quite maintain, if it does not enhance, his already great reputation. The sermons are not exactly popular—they are too full of thought for that—but they are illuminating, enriching, subduing. Great phases of life and conduct are held in a clear light which is both bright and steady: their real inwardness is revealed, and the application of truth to conduct is both close-fitting and searching. The book is full of fine thinking, suffused with delicate and noble feeling, and has great messages to the mind, the heart, and the life.

Henry Smith was lecturer at St. Clement Danes from 1587 to 1590, and Fuller says: 'He was commonly called the silver-tongued preacher, and that was but one metal below St. Chry-

sostom himself. His church was so crowded with auditors that persons of good quality brought their own pews with them, I mean their legs, to stand thereupon in the alleys.' We do not wonder at the preacher's hold on London as we read these finely phrased, pointed, practical sermons. That on 'The Wedding Garment' is very crisp in style, and 'A Preparative to Marriage' might be read with profit by all engaged couples.

The New Testament, by Dr. J. Agar Beet (Culley, 1s. 6d. net). In this little book Dr. Beet employs his clear and forcible style to give his readers a general introduction, within the briefest limits, to the several books of the New Testament. He begins with the 'four great epistles' of Paul, summing up their external authority and their internal characteristics; he then passes on to the other Pauline letters, the Synoptic Gospels, with the Acts, the Johannine writings, and the remaining Catholic epistles, and he ends by considering the question of the substantial correctness of the text of the New Testament. The result is to find in these books the explanation why the 'young man, murdered almost before he had reached his prime,' has gained the lowly and trustful homage of millions. This volume may be heartily recommended to local preachers and Sunday-school teachers to whom Dr. Beet has already rendered valuable service. We understand that he is preparing a similar volume on the Old Testament.

The Century Bible. Isaiah. Vol. II. Edited by Rev. O. C. Whitehouse, M.A., D.D. (Jack. 2s. 6d. net.)

Given the critical standpoint of this excellent series, the present volume well deserves to rank with the many great expositions of a great prophetic book. A Trito-Isaiah takes its place beside the Deutero-Isaiah, including the last eleven chapters. The date of the new Isaiah is post-exilic, and the style shows evident signs of dependence on the second Isaiah. The critical position is most marked in the treatment of the 'servant' question. The servant is the nation of Israel, or the pious nucleus of the nation, suffering for sinners of the Gentiles and for sinful Israel. The personal references in the New Testament, and Christian interpreters down to Rosenmüller's day, are roundly described as wrong. It is not easy to see why the Jewish rabbis of the Middle Ages with their prejudices are to be preferred even to New Testament writers. Still, we

are told 'The fulfilment of the great ideal of the suffering servant, expressed in Isa. xlix. 6, and liii., finally passed from Judaism to Christ and Christianity.' The introductions are excellent in fullness and clearness. The accounts of the missionary influence of the Jews, on pages 40 and 44, scarcely agree.

The Vulgate the Source of False Doctrines. By Rev. Prof. G. Henslow. (Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d. net.)

Prof. Henslow's object is to show that the Vulgate supplied most of the terms required in the early centuries for doctrinal conceptions, that these terms did not convey the precise meanings of the Greek originals, and that disastrous consequences have followed. But instead of keeping to his subject and writing philologically, he finds cases where the error is not due to incorrect translation but to false conception; and sometimes he allows himself to make the same blunder. From the scientific study of words he declines into a mere polemic, neither impartial nor well-informed, as is seen, for instance, in his discussion of redemption or in his injustice to the revivalists of the last century. A better knowledge of Methodist theology also would have prevented him from misrepresenting their views on conversion. The book, however, contains much that is suggestive, and directs a reader afresh to a line of study which it would be profitable to follow.

The Wisdom of Solomon. With introduction and notes. By the Rev. J. A. F. Gregg, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 2s. 6d. net). Mr. Gregg thinks that no date satisfies the general requirements of this book so well as about 125-120 B.C. Dean Plumptre was inclined to place its composition after Christ, on the ground of its indebtedness to Philo, but closer examination shows that the writer is not an advanced Alexandrian like Philo, but an orthodox Jew. There is no Messianic hope in the book, though two passages have a glorious future outlook. Immortality is of a purely ethical kind, and the resurrection of the body is not suggested. Both introduction and notes are of great value.

The Atonement. By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

The value of this volume is not to be estimated by its size

and price. To many minds it will be one of its chief recommendations that Dr. Stalker has felt 'the difficulties inherent in the view' of the Atonement which he expounds with both wisdom and felicity. The three lectures, now printed as the response to 'an external call'—to the givers of which we are deeply grateful—are entitled respectively: 'The New Testament Situation,' 'The Old Testament Preparation,' and 'The Modern Justification.' Each is a masterly treatment of its theme—discriminating, mature, and lucid. Dr. Stalker so states this great doctrine as to bring it 'home to the intelligence of human beings with a sense of welcome and gratification.' Unquestionably there are signs of 'a revived interest' in the doctrine; these lectures not only 'add volume to the current' flowing in this direction, but also define its boundaries if it is not to waste itself in shallows.

God, Prayer, and the Mystery of Pain. By Dr. Frank Ballard. (Culley. 6d. net.)

This booklet is Part II of *The People's Religious Difficulties*. It is complete in itself, and contains answers to nearly 200 questions asked at open conferences. Many of the questions present, in very slightly varied forms, the same difficulty. Dr. Ballard's skill is displayed in adapting his replies to the tone of the inquirer. He is sympathetic and frank. His own statements of the Christian solution of the problems dealt with are terse and comprehensive.

Christ's Teaching concerning the Last Things, and Other Papers. By the late William Caven, D.D., LL.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Principal Caven, who died nearly five years ago, was 'the most conspicuous figure' in Canadian Presbyterianism. He was a careful expositor, and the important themes he treats are handled with fullness of knowledge and sobriety of judgement.

Prayer, by the Rev. A. E. Balch, M.A. (Culley, 1s. net). This little book deals wisely and helpfully with many problems as to prayer. It is the work of a devout and clear thinker, who has learned to regard prayer not as 'a machine to make God do what we want,' but as 'the progressive discipline of our life in communion with God.' The argument is powerfully worked out, and apt illustrations give it force and impressiveness.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

Lollardy and the Reformation in England. An Historical Survey. By James Gairdner, C.B., Author of *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary*. Two vols. (Macmillan & Co. £1 1s. net.)

DR. GAIRDNER is one of our leading English historians. Few writers have a more detailed knowledge of the reigns of the Tudors, and he writes, therefore, with an authority which cannot be gainsaid. For this very reason we regret exceedingly that he should have devoted his great powers to the bringing out of a work which shows bias and unscholarly prejudice on almost every page.

With Dr. Gairdner's general attitude of scepticism and distrust of the usually accepted Protestant versions of the English Reformation we are in perfect sympathy. No words can express our dislike of historians who have whitewashed a mean tyrant like Henry, or who have neglected to point out the disasters to English life produced by the wholesale pillage of monasteries, guilds, and schools indulged in by that king and the swarm of nobles that made up the rapacious court of his son. But for the Reformation there would have been, as Mr. Leach has shown us, hundreds of nobly endowed schools and foundations—most of whose revenues have disappeared into the pockets of men who have appropriated for themselves the remaining foundations like Eton, with its income of £30,000 a year, intended for a different class. But justice to the old does not mean injustice to the new. To aver that the outcry against the monasteries was mostly a trumped-up business of greedy politicians does not mean that we shall sneer at the men who held different religious ideals from those of Rome. The first quality of an historian should be scrupulous fairness, and a desire to apprehend the standpoints of opposing forces.

But it is precisely unfairness of which Dr. Gairdner is guilty. He never, of course, misleads in facts with the deliberateness of

which Froude was guilty. It is in his adjectives and general tone that he shows his bias. We will take an instance or two. In Vol. I, p. 121, he writes a short page on John Hus, strongly marked by his usual bias. Hus, he tells us, caused the 'withdrawal of thousands of Germans' to Leipzig, &c. Now, if Hus had been a Romanist pure and simple Dr. Gairdner would have looked up his facts. A study of the *Matriculation Rolls of the University of Leipzig*, published by Erler, would have reduced his 'thousands' to 45 masters and 369 undergraduates. Putting the summer and winter sessions together the entrances at Leipzig were but 507. On the next page the reader is left to infer that Hus never received a safe-conduct from Sigismund, while the whole question of the fairness of his trial is dismissed with the remark that 'no trial is fair in the eyes of those who dispute the authority of the tribunal.' On the next page we are told that the Council of Constance passed a decree in favour of what Dr. Gairdner tells us was 'the ancient practice' of the Church, of communion in one kind. As Gratian's *Decretum* (P. II, Dist. ii, c. 12) shows, communion in both kinds was still the custom in the twelfth century.

Or take another page (Vol. I, p. 67), the record of the heroic John Badby, a tailor, not of Evesham, as Dr. Gairdner wrongly informs us, but of Kemerton, a Gloucestershire village that was a great centre of Lollardy. The whole narrative is not only absolutely unsympathetic, but goes out of its way to put things in the worst light. But 'poor tailors' seem to be always beneath Dr. Gairdner's pity—this is reserved for Roman priests or university dons—as we may see from his unfair treatment of 'little Bilney.' Or, again, on p. 51, in the case of Sawtre, where is Dr. Gairdner's authority for stating that 'the concurrence of Parliament was obtained' for the burning of Sawtre, whose conduct, by the way, according to Dr. Gairdner, 'was insolent in the extreme'? The writ for his burning was issued on February 26; he was burned on March 2, and the Act of Parliament is dated March 10. For the idea of a special Act for Sawtre Dr. Gairdner has no authority whatever; it was a mere surmise of Stubbs which Maitland showed to be unwarranted. The Act was passed eight days after Sawtre was burned! If Dr. Gairdner's sympathies had not been biassed he would not so easily have accepted this perversion of facts. But we ceased to wonder at anything when (Vol. II, p. 243) we found Dr. Gairdner informing us that the Church was not

responsible for the burning of heretics; that was 'only done by the order of the civil power'! Technically, of course, Dr. Gairdner is correct; but the whole thing was one of the most monstrous figments which ever deluded an historian, as Dr. C. H. Lee's exhaustive works on the Inquisition have shown.

We have selected a few passages only out of the many that we have marked as absolutely biassed, and in consequence misleading. An accurate history of the Reformation is a crying need—but Dr. Gairdner has not supplied that which is lacking. It needs a writer of broader sympathies, with more ability to discern the good that lies in opposed opinions, and who will overcome his prejudices against 'tailors' and others daring to have opinions of their own, which brought them into conflict with that 'authority' to which, however corrupt, Dr. Gairdner seems at all times willing to bow.

The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. By Adolf Harnack. Translated and edited by James Moffatt, D.D. Second, enlarged and revised edition. Two vols. (Williams & Norgate. 25s. net.)

Dr. Harnack's volumes made a great impression when they were first published in 1902. Till their appearance no monograph had been devoted to the mission and spread of the Christian religion during the first three centuries of our era. In Dr. Harnack's hands the subject becomes fascinating. We see how Christianity inherited part of her missionary zeal from Judaism, and watch the new faith breaking down walls of partition between nations and winning thousands of converts where the more exclusive religion had only been able to attract hundreds. No historian has shown more clearly that it was by the preaching and practice of love that the apostles and their successors triumphed. The whole subject is treated with a wealth of detail which makes it profoundly interesting and instructive. Constantine was led to recognize the new religion because it had conquered his whole empire. We do not find ourselves in agreement with the historian when he expresses his judgement that our Lord never uttered the Great Commission. That is a serious blot in the history; but apart from a few points of this kind the work is inspiring. In 1906 Dr. Harnack issued his second edition, revised with the utmost care.

and enlarged by ten extra sheets. A still greater boon was the eleven coloured maps then added. From this German edition, which is practically a new work, Dr. Moffatt has prepared his translation. It gives English readers easy access to the perfected form of a masterpiece of enduring value. 'Indefatigable missionary activity' was regarded as essential for an apostle, and the whole Church shared that spirit. It is a real aid to faith and zeal to study such a record as this.

The Greek and Eastern Churches. By Walter F. Adeney, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12s.)

This is a notable addition to the *International Theological Library*. Other volumes have dealt with the first three centuries of our era, so that Dr. Adeney only needs to take a rapid survey of that period viewed from the standpoint of the East. The fourth century is the most important epoch in the whole history of Eastern Christendom. In his first chapters Dr. Adeney is on somewhat familiar ground. When he reaches the Mohammedan period we have an illuminating study of the causes for the spread of that faith and the lessons it taught Christendom. After the momentous schism between East and West we watch the mighty conquest of Russia by the Greek Church. The sections dealing with the Russian Church, the Syrian and Armenian, the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches, are of extraordinary interest and present importance. No single volume we know gives so comprehensive a view of the history of these Communion, and Dr. Adeney's careful lists of authorities will be much appreciated by those who have to work in these fields. His whole volume exhibits breadth of view and a fine judicial temper. It is a work for which students will be increasingly grateful.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., and A. R. Waller, M.A. Vol. III, Renaissance and Reformation. (Cambridge University Press. 9s. net.)

This *History* appeals both to the general reader and to the student. The narrative is free from troublesome technicalities, whilst the full bibliography to each chapter is a valuable guide for those who wish to work in any particular field. The interest of the present volume is, perhaps, greater than that of either

of its predecessors. The scholars to whom the twenty chapters have been entrusted have entered thoroughly into the plan of the editors, so that it would be impossible to find a page that it is not a pleasure to read. Dr. Lindsay is on familiar ground in his chapter on 'Englishmen and the Classical Renaissance.' His picture of Colet is very attractive. 'He was among the earliest Englishmen of his generation to believe that the Bible in the vernacular ought to be in the hands of the people, and he would not have indulged in the disparagement and angry comment with which More greeted the remarkably accurate translation of the New Testament by William Tyndale.' In 'Reformation Literature' Prof. Whitney makes special reference to Cranmer, whose letters and writings show that he represents faithfully much of the mind of the English Reformation. There is also a striking estimate of Latimer's preaching, and of Tyndale's pamphlets and biblical translation. The Rev. R. H. Benson's brief chapter on 'The Dissolution of the Religious Houses' points out that the destruction of books was almost incredibly enormous; homes of study were also lost, and the education of children suffered greatly. Yet the gain was at least as much as the loss. The scholastic method had done its work, and no more progress was to be made along those lines for the present. The *History* will do much to foster a genuine interest in our literature. It is from first to last delightful reading.

The Maid of France. Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne D'Arc. By Andrew Lang. With portraits. (Longmans & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Lang is a convinced believer in the purity and lofty patriotism of the girl who saved France and died a martyr. Jeanne's own countryman, M. Anatole France, regards her 'voices' as hallucinations, and thinks that she was indoctrinated by priests and statesmen, of whom she was the tool and puppet. He admits that she helped to save Orleans, but holds that the English lost France through their own bad fortune rather than through Jeanne's exploits. Mr. Lang will not hear of such attempts to belittle 'this glory of her sex.' He has no difficulty in showing that M. France rejects Jeanne's evidence where it appears to him to be improbable. He has himself examined the documents and verified every statement made in his book with

the greatest care. Jeanne's veracity is above suspicion, and in dark days she showed herself the bravest of the brave. Fear of the stake seems to have made her repeat some form of abjuration to save her life, but she asserted afterwards: 'If I were to say that God did not send me I would condemn myself, for true it is that God sent me.' From that position she never wavered. Her last word at the stake was 'JESUS!' Then her head drooped, and the tragedy was finished. This book is not merely delightful reading, but bears evidence on every page of the greatest care and research. The Maid of France has at last found a worthy champion.

Ten Personal Studies. With ten portraits. By Wilfrid Ward. (Longmans & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Ward's studies appeal to men of all churches and schools. The finest of them is the 'apologia' for Mr. Balfour and his Fabian policy in regard to the fiscal question. This Mr. Ward deems to be an extraordinary achievement. Opinion is hopelessly divided on that matter, but every one will feel the power of Mr. Ward's analysis of the situation. His paper on 'Delane, Hutton, and Knowles' pays tribute to the ability and independence of the famous editor of *The Times*, and to the unswerving rectitude and high principle with which Hutton did his work for thirty-five years as a great teacher. Of him and of Sir James Knowles Mr. Ward gives some personal reminiscences of special interest. Knowles made *The Nineteenth Century* a platform for all competing opinions, and he won a triumphant success. Mr. Ward writes not only as a philosopher and a theologian, but as a man of affairs. He shows that 'if Manning was essentially the success of the moment in the Catholic Church, ever before the public eye, ever carrying through the schemes he initiated, and yet left comparatively little that was valuable as a permanent contribution either to thought or to the well-being of the community, in Newman the parts were reversed. He was emphatically the recluse, the apparent failure of the moment, the man of the future.' This is a book which will furnish much food for thought and discussion.

The Bishop of Bristol's *Alcuin of York* (S.P.C.K., 5s.) is based on lectures delivered in Bristol Cathedral in 1907 and 1908. It gives an account of the great scholar drawn from a life written by a monk of Ferrieres between 823 and 829, and

quotes many illuminating passages from Alcuin's letters, of which, in 1100, the library at Malmesbury possessed an important collection. Dr. Browne has lavished his learning and research upon a congenial subject. No one who wishes to know England in the eighth century can afford to overlook this most enjoyable book. Some excellent illustrations add much to its value.

Lord Haliburton. A Memoir of his Public Service. By J. B. Atlay. (Smith, Elder & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

This is not a biography so much as a record of the official life of one of the most eminent and able of our public servants. Lord Haliburton's father was the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, better known as 'Sam Slick,' the inventor of American humour. The son was born in Nova Scotia in 1832, and did valuable work in the Commissariat Department of our army in the Crimea, where he showed exceptional capacity. He was appointed Assistant Director of Supplies and Transports, and soon effected reforms which reduced expenditure by £68,000 per annum, without in any way retrenching the pay or allowances or the comfort of the soldier. He won the special thanks of Lord Wolseley for the manner in which the army was fed during the Nile campaign of 1884-5. He extracted every ounce of work from those who served under him, but 'was one of those who, by a happy dispensation of providence, simply cannot lose their temper.' As Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War he had a great opportunity, and his ability and rectitude won the grateful recognition of all who worked with him. Mr. Atlay's volume is a worthy tribute to a man of the highest character and capacity.

Percy: Prelate and Poet. By Alice C. C. Gaussen. (Smith, Elder & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Sir Walter Scott attributed his first inspiration to Percy's *Reliques*. He read the book often, and with more enthusiasm than any other. No authoritative Life of the bishop has ever been written, so that this volume is sure of its place and its welcome from all lovers of ballad poetry. Thomas Percy was born at Bridgnorth in 1729 in a large and stately sixteenth-century mansion which still stands in the Cartway. His grandfather was a grocer in the town, but Thomas Percy proved that he belonged to the family of the ancient Earls of Northumberland, and showed their direct descent from the Emperor

Charlemagne. In 'early youth' Percy found a 'scrubby, shabby paper book lying dirty on the floor under a bureau in the parlour of Humphrey Pitt, of 'Shifnal in Shropshire.' This collection of old ballads led to the publication of his famous *Reliques* in 1765. He was then Vicar of Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire. The enthusiasm for the old ballads quickly spread among all classes, and through his work Percy was introduced to Sir Hugh Smithson, afterwards Duke of Northumberland. Of him and his family Miss Gausson gives much pleasant information. The bishop's portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, makes a very fine frontispiece to her volume, and there is a beautiful likeness of Jonathan Swift in his college days, besides portraits of Mrs. Percy, Sir Hugh Smithson, and other illustrations.

William Morris. By Alfred Noyes. (Macmillan. 2s. net.)

Mr. Noyes regards Morris as in all things a poet—in words, in tapestry, in Socialism. By keeping that aspect prominent he has preserved a unity of impression in this thought-provoking study. The critiques of Morris's poetry will not be accepted by all readers, and his devotion to Tennyson is somewhat obtrusive. But the book is alive throughout. The sailor-like bluntness of Morris, his child-like tempers, his enthusiasms for beautiful things, all are here. Kelmscott Manor was 'a home of exquisite peace and joy' for twenty-five years. 'As others love the race of men through their lovers or their children, so I love the earth through that small space of it.' The beauty of Mr. Noyes' prose may be judged from one sentence. 'The very worst of his writings bears upon it the unmistakable hallmark of the artist; the poorest of his singing-ropes will have some gold feather clinging to it that shows what paradisaal floor it lately swept.' This is certainly a book to meditate upon, as well as to read and enjoy.

Mr. Gladstone at Oxford, 1890. By C. R. L. F. With illustrations. (Smith, Elder & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

This chronicle of a week spent by Mr. Gladstone at All Souls, of which he was Honorary Fellow, has a rare attraction. The way in which he disarmed political opponents who had hesitated whether they should even meet him is delicious, and the old statesman, who had retained his catholic affection for books and his love for Oxford, appears in the most alluring

light. He made a few mistakes as to the men among whom he mixed, but these only added to the gaiety of the visit. He struck 'F.' as the 'finest gentleman' he had ever met. There was no touch of affectation about him, and the way in which his innate conservatism came out was often laughable. His personal magnetism gave the company at All Souls some conception of his influence as leader of a party. He thought Christianity a greater force in English politics than it was in his early days, though the manner of its expression had changed; for him Socialism had no attractions. He agreed with 'W. R. A.' that Southey's *Life of Wesley* stood next to Boswell's *Johnson*. His talk ranged over all manner of subjects, and there was none that he did not adorn. This little book will certainly claim a place beside Lord Morley's masterpiece.

Blackstick Papers. By Lady Ritchie. With portraits. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s. net.)

We can promise any one an hour or two of pure pleasure over Lady Ritchie's papers. She has adopted her father's 'Fairy Blackstick,' who loved old books, young people, rings, roses, &c., and we are whisked through the famous literary and social circles of the past two generations, getting to love Mrs. Gaskell and to delight in Mary and Agnes Berry. We see George Sand at Nohant in her ripening old age. 'Her outlook grew wider as time passed over her head; those unforgotten eyes of hers never lost their brightness, but they look up and around instead of downwards. How sound and to be trusted was her judgement when it was no longer overthrown by the gust of egotistic passion!' The genial giant, 'Jacob Omnium,' is here, and Tourguénieff, with his 'leonine head set nobly on wide shoulders.' Not the least charming of the papers is that on Joachim, and the pages on Bewick make one hungry for more about the engraver and the north country which he loved. Every sketch has its own enchantment. We really get into the presence of those celebrities of the past, and we are loth to leave it.

George Brown, D.D. Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer. An autobiography. With one hundred and eleven illustrations and map. (Hodder & Stoughton. 15s. net.)

Dr. Brown was born in Barnard Castle, where his father was a noted public man and a Unitarian preacher of the type

of Channing and Martineau. His son's love of adventure led him to choose a sailor's life; and at last he found his way to New Zealand, and in 1860 was appointed Methodist missionary in Samoa. For fifteen years Dr. Brown led an exciting life voyaging round his stormy, rock-bound island. The changed lives of some of his members showed that the mission was bearing good fruit. In 1874 he proposed the establishment of a mission in New Britain, and visited the colonies to win support for the scheme. Some of the native ministers and students in Fiji nobly volunteered to face the perils of the new mission. Dr. Brown and his band of helpers reached New Britain in August 1875, and after a year's encouraging toil he returned to Sydney for a brief furlough. Many interesting particulars are given as to the customs of the people. In 1877 he was back again in New Britain. The murder of a native minister and three teachers, in April 1878, led Dr. Brown to carry out a punitive expedition, which taught the savages a memorable lesson. His action was much canvassed at the time, but events have proved that it was wise and merciful. In 1887 Dr. Brown was appointed General Secretary of Missions by the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and remained in office till April 1908. No living man has done more for the spread of the gospel in the South Seas than Dr. Brown, and this story of his labours will be studied with growing interest. It is full of moving adventures which reveal, despite the writer's modesty, the figure of a true missionary hero.

The Life of James Robertson, D.D. By Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor). (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Dr. Robertson was Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in Canada from 1881 to 1902. He was born at the village of Dull, in the Tay valley, and went with his family to Ontario in 1855. After training in Toronto and Princeton he held two pastorates, and then was appointed to found mission churches in the vast wonderland of the West. He had a genius for begging, and his strong conviction and dour pertinacity won many a victory in his encounters with merchants and railway magnates. It is the story of a strong man's devotion to a pressing duty, and scores of settlements owe their opportunities for worship to Dr. Robertson's apostolic labours.

The Life of James Stewart, D.D., M.D. With forty-two illustrations and two maps. By James Wells, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

Stewart of Lovedale is one of the great missionary names of our generation. The noble Scotchman formed a link between Livingstone and the latter workers who have devoted themselves to the salvation of Africa. He was born in Edinburgh in 1831, and as a lad of fifteen, when ploughing on his father's farm, made the resolve, 'God helping me, I will be a missionary.' In 1857 Livingstone's travels produced a profound impression upon his mind, and he resolved to do his utmost to plant a mission in the districts opened up by the great explorer. In 1861 he sailed for Cape Town with Mrs. Livingstone, and, when she died of fever in April 1862, became her husband's constant companion. It was not till 1867 that he found his sphere at Lovedale, 700 miles north-east of Cape Town. There he set himself 'to uplift the native by touching him at every point, instructing him in all the arts of civilized life, and fitting him for all Christian duties.' He taught the people to pay fees for training their children, and turned the station into a hive of industry. In 1873 he founded another mission at Blythswood, among the Fingoes, and next year, on visiting Scotland, launched the project for the great mission at Livingstonia, which has become one of the marvels of modern missions. The wild Angoni now evangelize the villages which they used to raid. Dr. Stewart took rank as an empire-builder when Livingstonia led to the addition of North-eastern Rhodesia to our empire. He died at Lovedale on December 21, 1905. He was a real incarnation of energy, a man of visions who had strength and tenacity which enabled him to turn them into beneficent realities. This is a book which makes one realize the glory of a consecrated life.

Heroes of our Indian Empire. By Henry Morris. Two vols. . (Christian Literature Society for India. 4s.)

These sketches are admirable summaries of many standard biographies. They are full enough to present vivid portraits, yet compact enough to be read easily by busy men. The fourteen heroes are Sir T. Munro, Sir John Malcolm, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord Metcalfe, James Thomason, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir

Donald F. McLeod, Charles Grant, Sir W. Jones, Reginald Heber, Sir Arthur Cotton, Sir M. Monier-Williams. India is much in evidence to-day, and these well-written and wisely selected lives will show with what devotion her people have been served by some of the noblest Englishmen. The record makes one proud of his countrymen.

Old Times and Friends. By Rev. E. L. H. Tew, M.A.
(Winchester: Warren & Sons. 5s.)

Mr. Tew is rector of Upham, and for a quarter of a century was vicar of Winchester. He has many good stories to tell of the clergy whom he has known and of his parishioners in East Yorkshire and in Hants, and he tells them well. He supplies many little touches for which students of the Oxford Movement will thank him. When his father became rector of Patching there was not a note of music in the service there or at the neighbouring village of Clapham. Then two hymns were introduced—Ken's morning hymn was sung at eleven and his evening hymn at three, even though it were a broiling day in July or August. The second hymn was taken out of Tate and Brady—'the first three and the last verses' quite irrespective of sense. An amusing account is given of the barrel-organ at Patching, which the curate of Clapham could not manage. 'The organ groaned, shrieked, and whistled; people tried to sing, but had to give up the attempt, the clerk sat down and bent his head in the vain endeavour to keep his shoulders from shaking, his example being followed by most of the congregation. At last the curate left the instrument to itself, and marched boldly out to his usual seat.' Mr. Tew is a strong Churchman, and some of his stories will not be palatable to Nonconformists; but there is much to enjoy in his record.

Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round, 1734 to 1784. Memorials compiled by J. W. Laycock.
(Keighley. Wadsworth & Co. 4s. net.)

Methodism is the fruit of heroism; of heroic toil, endurance, sacrifice. Such is the key-note and the teaching of this stirring and informing book. The 'Round' described extended from Birstall in the south to Whitehaven, Workington, and Cocker-mouth in the north, and from Bacup and Preston in the west to Pateley Bridge in the east; thus covering a large part of the three counties of York, Lancaster, and Cumberland; and

the 'heroes' whose achievements are here for the first time adequately celebrated are such men as William Grimshaw, the famous Methodist vicar of Haworth, and John Nelson, the mason-minister of undying fame. The Wesleys often appear upon the scene, and, less frequently, Ingham, Whitefield, and the Countess of Huntingdon; and much light is thrown upon the spirit and the methods of these pioneers and agents in the great awakening. Of their helpers and associates, such as William Darney, John Bennet, and David Taylor, we get more than glimpses; while of 'Grimshaw's Men,' such as Jonathan Maskew and Paul Greenwood, and of many of the better-known early Methodist preachers, we learn much that it is well for us to know. In gathering his materials Mr. Laycock has spent many years and travelled many hundreds of miles, neglecting no possible source of information, and counting no toil or pains too great to rescue from oblivion records of inestimable worth. He has also had access to unpublished material at the Book Room; his volume is enriched with numerous unpublished letters from Grimshaw, Nelson and others, now in the possession of Mr. George Stampe, of Grimsby; and, most precious document of all, the Haworth Round and Keighley Circuit Book, dating from 1748 and, until 1762, in Grimshaw's handwriting, has been constantly beneath the author's eyes. From this ancient record, probably the earliest Circuit Book in existence, Mr. Laycock has collected many items relating to Methodist organization and finance indispensable to the historian and vastly entertaining to the general reader. In cordially commending this most valuable volume, may we plead with its accomplished and devoted author for at least a few of the products of his camera, and for an index in the next edition of the names and places mentioned in his admirable work?

Mr. Frowde publishes for the British Academy the address on *Milton as a Historian*, by C. H. Frith, and *A Consideration of Macaulay's Comparison of Dante and Milton*, by W. J. Courthope (1s. net each), delivered at the Tercentenary. Prof. Frith shows that Milton's treatment of the Arthurian legend is practically that of a scientific historian. Prof. Courthope considers Macaulay does injustice to Dante in treating him as a foil to set off the superior moral excellence of Milton. It is a discriminating study of the two great masters which does equal justice to them both.

Messrs. Bell & Sons have published a new edition of the late Dr. Lupton's *Life of John Colet*, D.D. (8s. 6d. net). Colet began to found St. Paul's School in 1509, so that the four hundredth anniversary of St. Paul's School is a fitting moment for the reappearance of this valuable biography. It describes Colet's scholarship, his lectures at Oxford, his friendship with Erasmus, and his retirement to the Carthusian monastery at Sheen. And Dr. Lupton makes the whole story delightful reading. Not the least interesting part is the Appendix, which contains Colet's 'Statutes of St. Paul's School,' his 'Catechyzon,' and a sermon preached before Convocation. Colet is recognized as one of the noblest men of his time, and we are glad to welcome a new edition of the best and fullest biography of him that has ever been published.

Messrs. Macmillan have included Prof. Raleigh's *Shakespeare* (4s. net) in their Eversley Series. Many will be glad to have this neat edition of the finest study of our great dramatist which we have ever read. Every page furnishes some happy sentence which lingers in the memory. Here are two chosen at random. 'The tradition of geniality clings to his name like a faded perfume.' 'Every one was more himself for being in the company of Shakespeare.'

Saint Gilbert. The Story of Gilbert White and Selborne, by J. C. Wright (Stock, 2s. 6d.) is just the book that lovers of White will be thankful to have in their hand when they go on pilgrimage to the village on which he has conferred lasting fame. Mr. Wright knows his subject, and gives some excellent photographs. It is a very bright book.

Almoners of the King. By Thomas Durley. (Culley, 2s. 6d.) These life sketches of Mr. Solomon Jevons and Miss Elizabeth James beautifully illustrate the joy and blessing of giving. The keen business man and the retiring and delicate lady were princely benefactors of the work for children under the care of Dr. Stephenson and Dr. Arthur Gregory. Mr. Durley has had a delightful task, and he has done it in a way that will prove infectious. Many illustrations add to the charm of this deeply interesting record.

Messrs. Longmans send us John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography* in a beautiful edition (3s. 6d. net), with G. F. Watts's portrait of Mill as frontispiece, and in an edition with paper covers (6d. net). It is one of the books that every student of English literature and philosophy ought to read.

GENERAL

Assisi of Saint Francis. By Mrs. Robert Goff. Illustrated by Colonel R. Goff. Together with the Influence of the Franciscan Legend on Italian Art, by J. Kerr-Lawson, with reproductions after the old masters. (Chatto & Windus. 20s. net.)

The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi. Translated from the Italian by T. W. Arnold, M.A. With a note by Dr. Guido Biagi. (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d. net.)

Colonel and Mrs. Goff have laid lovers of St. Francis under a great debt by their sumptuous volume. Assisi before the saint's birth and in the eleventh century is described in two chapters, then the biography is simply told by the aid of Thomas of Celano's two *Lives* and the *Legends of the Three Companions*. We trace the gay youth up to his conversion and through his life of poverty and love, till death sealed his sacrifice. The old story loses none of its charm in Mrs. Goff's hands, and she supplements the record with a description of the canonization, the building of the basilica, and the later history of the city. An appendix gives a detailed account of modern Assisi, with the church of St. Francesco and the public buildings. By the aid of these pages and the plan a reader can construct the whole scene as he sits by his own fireside. Mr. Kerr-Lawson shows how the personality of St. Francis and the story of his life entered into the field of art as 'a great and stimulating theme, whose untold possibilities of beauty and romance evoked the bravest efforts of the painters of Italy.' Colonel Goff's illustrations have extraordinary charm, and some of the coloured pictures are exquisite. As a companion volume, the new edition of Prof. Arnold's translation of the *Fioretti* has been revised and augmented. The translation is made more attractive by reproductions of the quaint illustrations in a parchment MS. of the fourteenth century which is preserved in Florence. They certainly make this an unrivalled edition of *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*.

The Life of the Spirit: an Introduction to Philosophy. By Rudolf Eucken, Professor of Philosophy in Jena. (Williams & Norgate. 5s.)

This book must not be classed with the ordinary Introductions to Philosophy. It is rather a philosophy of the history of philosophy as an attempt to penetrate into the vital centres of thought. Parts are critical of the failures from Greek to modern times to solve the problems of truth and happiness, of change and permanence, of the relation between the outer world and the inner. But the main object is constructive; and the author pleads for a philosophy of spiritual life, as alone capable of reducing the universe to an intelligible unity. The spirituality in man must 'be thrown into relief, purified, and turned to account for the further development of the whole.' In the elaboration of such a philosophy a beginning is made with fundamental conceptions on both the metaphysical and the moral sides; and a fuller treatment will be awaited with interest. So far Christianity is viewed chiefly as a system of thought in which sensuous elements came unfortunately to be overvalued. When the writer begins to fall back upon the Johannine and Pauline teaching, he will see the incorrectness of the conclusion that the God of Christianity 'is not so much indwelling in the world as superior to it.' The real fact is that Christianity rightly understood appeals to that very elemental spirituality which Prof. Eucken reverences, and finds in it both a revelation of God and a point of sure contact with him. The professor ennobles the significance of philosophy by directing it to a worthy subject of study; and the next thing to do is to elicit the witness to the theistic conception of immanence in man and to the ethical goal of perfection.

Missions in State and Church: Sermons and Addresses.

By P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The New Horoscope of Missions. By James S. Dennis, D.D. (F. H. Revell. 3s. 6d. net.)

The Gospel in the Psalms. By G. T. Manley, M.A. (Church Missionary Society. 1s. net.)

Dr. Forsyth's volume is a happy sign of the times. The Church at home is gaining loftier views of its duty to the whole

world, and looks on its missionaries as the heroes of the Cross. There is one pathetic touch in the penetrative sermon on 'The Fatherhood of Death.' 'I cannot remember since boyhood passing a day without pain; but I think my life a piece of disheartening self-indulgence when I read missionary biography, and track its quavering red line of apostolic succession from the beginning until now. It is a past with a promise. That cannot be in vain.' Each sermon and address is laden with rich thought and full of mighty confidence in 'Christ, the holy will of God, the Saviour, and the world-Saviour.' Old truths are set in a new light, and the whole Christian horizon is enlarged. 'The missionary history of the Church is Christ's slow entrance on the right which He set up once for all in His cross.' No one lays more stress on prayer than Dr. Forsyth, but he doubts if increased prayer is a sufficient remedy for the way in which we are failing to meet the needs of the world. 'We seem to need a gospel that stirs prayer, and puts urgency and prevalence into it, and is over us always as a shaping power of responsibility, inspiration, and rebuke.' The volume closes with the sermon on Ezekiel's vision of The Valley of Dry Bones. It is headed 'Holy Christian Empire,' and those who heard it preached in Great Queen Street Chapel will understand how it crowns these noble appeals and arguments.

Dr. Dennis's four lectures are 'A new World-Consciousness; Strategic Aspects of the Missionary Outlook; A new Cloud of Witnesses; Fresh Annals of the Kingdom.' There is an appendix on 'The Message of Christianity to other Religions.' No one knows the subject of missions more thoroughly than Dr. Dennis. God's wonderful working in the world has filled him with strong confidence. Mighty issues hang upon the action taken by the Church at home. The witness from without is growing more decisive in favour of missions, and they are winning more fully than ever the admiring sympathy and loving support of the Church of Christ.

Mr. Manley's studies are intended for missionary bands and Bible classes. Suggestions are given as to the conduct of such classes, and much good material is supplied for six weeks' work, with questions, programmes, &c. It is just the book to stimulate and guide missionary students.

The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas. By Edward Westermarck, Ph.D. In two volumes. Vol. II. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 14s. net.)

This handsome volume of 850 pages completes the great undertaking to which Dr. Westermarck has devoted many years of laborious and scholarly research. He has collected and arranged with great skill all the available evidence regarding the nature of men's moral judgements. The list of authorities quoted fills seventy-eight pages, and includes at least 2,500 books or articles in many languages.

In Vol. II the chief subjects of investigation are the 'Right of Property,' 'The Regard for Truth,' 'The Origin and Development of the Altruistic Sentiment,' 'Suicide,' 'Restrictions in Diet,' 'Asceticism,' 'Marriage and Kindred Themes,' 'Regard for the Lower Animals and for the Dead,' 'Cannibalism,' and 'The Gods as Guardians of Morality.' No student of ethics, psychology, sociology, or comparative religion can afford to neglect this erudite and comprehensive treatment of these vast questions. Dr. Westermarck's power of condensation is as remarkable as the attractiveness of his style. Recognition of the value of his contribution to the history of morals is, however, compatible with the conviction that the facts adduced do not warrant the inference that 'in its relation to morality, religion will be increasingly restricted to emphasizing ordinary moral rules, and less preoccupied with inculcating special duties to the deity.' The Christian religion will not cease to emphasize the first and great commandment, in order that men may realize their obligation to fulfil the second, which is like unto it. Dr. Westermarck sometimes fails to do justice to the 'inwardness' of Christian ethics. Agreeing with him that 'in moral education example plays a more important part than precept,' we should attach greater significance than he does to the influence of the example of Christ.

Social Psychology. By William McDougall, M.A., M.B., M.Sc. (Methuen. 5s. net.)

The book forms a valuable reinforcement of a side of psychology which has not hitherto been given the attention its promise merits. The discussion is conducted carefully, and the implications of most topics are realized with no lack of insight. The chapter on volition reveals a determinist, but

whilst justifiably protesting against the popular argument that, by destroying free will, the logical ground of punishment is destroyed, he does not seem to realize that the belief in free will rests on deeper grounds. The protest against psychology being biased by moral needs is technically correct, but it is certain that no psychological explanations, however reasoned, will stand permanently unless they satisfy not merely one part of, but all the requirements of, man's nature. It is here that determinism fails. It is significant that the index shows 'reproach,' 'resentment,' 'respect,' 'responsibility,' 'revenge,' 'reverence,' but not remorse. Deferminism finds this an inconvenient fact, but surely it calls for treatment.

The chapter on religion gives evidence of painful inability to see anything but the anthropological and physical science standpoint. How any one, apparently so utterly unconscious of the whole trend of modern religious philosophy, can think it sufficient to offer his opinion on religion from the view-point of the dogmatic scientist of a generation ago is astonishing. Apart, however, from these exceptions, and there he is upon his own ground of scientific psychology, the writer is an interesting and stimulating companion, and will merit the attention of sociological students.

Realities and Ideals. By Frederic Harrison. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Frederick Harrison is a fascinating essayist. Whatever subject he touches, and the range is surprisingly wide, he illumines, and it is hard to decide whether his thoughts, always fresh and stimulating, or his style, always trenchant and sparkling, is the greater source of attraction in this fourth volume of his *Positivist Synthesis*. The present reviewer read *The Philosophy of Common Sense* with little sympathy, *National and Social Problems* proved more to his taste, but *Realities and Ideals* have kept him out of bed at nights, and left him absorbed in perusing model essays on modern topics till a shiver showed him that the fire had burnt out more quickly than his interest.

To say this is not to forget that Mr. Harrison's views have far too distinct a shape to fit every one's mental pockets, but his pen pleases where his reasoning displeases, and one cannot be seriously angry when even the most tender toes of one's theories are trodden on so charmingly. So, for the sake of

his prose, his positivism, a theory which to some minds is no more inspiring than the prospectus of a limited company, is pardoned, and for the sake of his style, we read his contradictions of our cherished convictions with the same approval which most of us are human enough to accord to that which is 'just what I think.' As the last page is turned down, one is inclined to adopt Charles Lamb's suggestion, and to 'return thanks' after a good meal—of reading.

Highways and Byways in Surrey. By Eric Parker.
With Illustrations by Hugh Thomson. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Mr. Parker leaves the Surrey of Southwark and Lambeth to historians and antiquarians. He is concerned with the beauties of the county, with the glorious panorama to be seen from the Hog's Back, and with the flowers of the Fold district which he loves. Mr. Parker begins his wanderings at Farnham, where the old castle stands nobly on a hill. Here we see the house where Cobbett was born, and make our first acquaintance with his *Rural Rides*, which give unrivalled descriptions of Surrey scenery. Mr. Parker is enthusiastic about Guildford High Street—'the most delightful street in the south of England.' The downland round Newlands Corner is for him 'the loveliest spot in Surrey.' We can say nothing stronger in favour of the book than that it will satisfy even those who regard Surrey as one of the most charming counties in England, and that Mr. Thomson's selection of subjects is as happy as the skill with which his pencil has been made to serve as colleague to Mr. Parker's pen.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have issued a series of half-crown reprints of their *Illustrated Handbooks of Art History of All Ages and Countries*. They are edited by Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A., and Prof. Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A. Two volumes are devoted to architecture, two to sculpture, four to painting, classic and Italian, Spanish and French, German, Flemish, and Dutch, English and American. A ninth volume is on water-colour painting in England. The books are half-bound, in neat covers, with as many as from seventy to eighty illustrations in some volumes. The writers are carefully selected experts. The *Handbooks* appeal not only to artists, but to all lovers of pictures, sculpture, and architecture.

They ought to be in every public library. We know nothing like them for completeness and sustained interest.

Aeschylus in English Verse. Part III. By A. S. Way, D.Lit. (Macmillan. 3s. 6d. net.)

With this volume, containing the *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroe*, and *Eumenides*, Dr. Way concludes his translation of the dramas of Aeschylus. The superb trio of plays dealing with the woes of the house of Atreus is a work calculated to test to the full a translator's powers. Dr. Way successfully challenges comparison with any of his predecessors, and fully maintains the high reputation achieved by his previous versions of some of the great Greek classics. The English reader who is ignorant of Greek may rest assured that he will find here a faithful presentation of the original, while he will have the joy of perusing verse which is strong, rich, and sonorous. The translator possesses undeniable gifts of rhyme as well as striking powers of lyrical taste and style—a combination which enables him skilfully to surmount the difficulties and obscurities of the choruses. Above all, he has caught the true spirit and genius of Aeschylus, and reproduced the poet's austere purity, his massive and powerful treatment of sin and its inevitable doom, and the sombre grandeur of his religious dogmas, not less impressive because of their obvious limitations. In rendering this imperishable trilogy of crime, vengeance, and reconciliation with so much dignity and power, Dr. Way has accomplished another triumph. We venture to predict that he who for the first time reads the *Agamemnon*—and what student of literature can afford to neglect it?—will inevitably be carried on to the completion of the cycle of dramas by the sheer charm of this version.

Messrs. Macmillan publish a third edition of Jowett's *Republic of Plato* in two neat pocket volumes (3s. 6d. net per volume). A few headlines have been altered where necessary through the changed pagination, and the index has been simplified. 'The marginal analyses have been sacrificed; but reference to the Greek text has been facilitated by the insertion of the sections, as well as the pages, of Stephanus.' Jowett's work is above praise, and this is an ideal edition as to type and paper and general compactness.

Mr. Frowde has added *The Works in Prose and Verse of Charles and Mary Lamb* (2 vols., 2s. each) to his Oxford

editions. They are astonishingly cheap. One volume has 910 pages, the other 870. Portraits of Lamb at the age of thirty and fifty-one form the frontispieces. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson has edited the volumes with unfailing care and ample knowledge. The bibliographical list itself makes the edition essential to students, and the extended note on the 'Growth of the Body of Collected Works' is a mine of information.

The Poems of A. C. Benson (Lane, 5s. net) have been selected from six earlier volumes, so that they may be assumed to represent his matured thought about many problems which perplex us all. For this poet life is the discipline of the soul, the opportunity for growing conformity to the mind of God. All is well if He approves. 'I can endure Thy bitterest decrees If certain of Thy love.' The lowliest sphere is sacred. 'The Charcoal Burner' has his vision in the silent glade. Some pieces have national interest. Queen Victoria is hailed as

Dear mother of our myriad race,

who fareth forth, after her gracious years of service, to prove

The last, best victory of Love.

Mr. Gladstone in some noble verses is described as the hero of Eton, and two beautiful pieces are devoted to Thomas Gray. The nature studies are scarcely less arresting than the problem pieces. 'Evensong' is a dainty comparison of the thrush's melody with that of human psalm and canticle; 'The Robin and the Credence' describes the little songster's sacrament on Christmas morn. Two verses 'In that Day' are a mighty sermon on Absalom's ambition and his doom. 'Gaston de Faix' is the hero of an exquisite sonnet. Each piece has its own grace of phrase, its own burst of melody, but it is as a set of meditations on the designs of God, on the peace of obedience, on the victory of faith, that the volume will be most prized by those who love and follow after all that is highest and best.

Towards the Uplands (Frowde, 5s. net) is Mr. Lloyd Mifflin's tenth volume, but though he has written five or six hundred sonnets, the American dreamer is still hoping, even against hope, to produce at least one sonnet that shall have no defect. His portrait helps us to understand his quest of perfection, and we turn his pages with growing respect as the

patient art of the poet stands revealed. There is true poetry and fine art in every poem.

Select Poems of William Barnes (Frowde, 2s. 6d. net). No one was so competent to make this selection from the poems of William Barnes as Thomas Hardy. He knew the Dorset dialect when it was spoken as it appears in this volume. Now the old words are ridiculed and pushed into holes and corners, or die out and leave no synonyms. Those who delight in rugged dialect will have added pleasure in reading these poems, and even if they are sometimes puzzled by strange words, Mr. Hardy's explanations will assist them to appreciate 'their delicate ability to express the doings, joys, and jests, troubles, sorrows, needs, and sicknesses of life in the rural world as elsewhere.' His poetry is a wonderful mirror which reveals the life of husbandman and hamleteer, and helps us to understand their hopes and sorrows and the joys which brighten their existence. All is so fresh and natural that we want to be off to Dorset and see it for ourselves. Such a selection will attract many new readers to Barnes's poetry, and they will have growing delight in his company.

London Visions (Elkin Mathews, 2s. 6d. net). Mr. Laurence Binyon has collected these *Visions* from two volumes which he published in 1895 and 1898. Other pieces are added, some now first printed. They are strong, living transcripts of things around us, and the poet's heart is in them as well as his eyes. There is no padding, every word conveys its message and enshrines its memory. We watch the seasons revolve, 'Red Night,' with its scenes, passes before us. We look down on London's sleepers. Sometimes a pair of vigorous verses, like a fine etching, give the portrait of 'The Paralytic,' sometimes we find ourselves in 'Deptford' and 'Trafalgar Square.' This is a little book of verse, but there is much rich material in it, and it is shaped and fused by a master craftsman.

Seen from the Hill and Other Verses, by Helen W. Gibson (Culley, 1s.). The sacred mount of God is the hill from which the writer views life. Strong faith and great resignation blend with tender love of home and children. Many will be stronger to bear life's burdens as they read these pages.

Puritan Pansies, by Claud Field (Headley Brothers, 2s. net). There is true poetry and strong thought in this little volume.

Mr. Field's translations from the Persian have special interest. His lines do not always move quite easily, but they dwell on the deep things of life and will appeal strongly to Christian thinkers.

Flashes from the Orient, by John Hazlehurst (Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1s. 6d.), is a second volume of his *Thousand and One Mornings with Poesy*. These little poems are full of the praise of summer, and will appeal strongly to all who love sunshine and birds and Sabbath-morning peace.

Philomela and other Poems. By Leonard A. Compton-Rickett. (Elkin Mathews. 3s. 6d. net.)

The old Greek story of the sisters who were metamorphosed into birds gives Mr. Compton-Rickett his theme. He works it out with much skill and beauty into a lyrical drama in five acts. There is a brooding sadness around the tale, which opens with the morning after Philomela's marriage. As she rises from the couch the birds sing to her of her lost sister, and the tragedy of her fate begins to dawn upon her mind. The husband whom she loves has changed her elder sister, whom he had previously married, into a swallow in order that he might win Philomela. Nothing can lift the cloud from such a subject, but the poetry is musical and has many suggestive and felicitous lines and passages. It is a study of character as well as a poem. The short pieces treat high themes in the same graceful fashion.

Mathilde. A Play. By Adolphus A. Jack. (Constable. 3s. 6d. net.)

The scene of this play is the Court of Ferrara in the sixteenth century, and Mathilde, the Duke's niece and heiress, is the heroine. Pride and high spirits bear the girl up in her trying position, and after her uncle has been poisoned she marries the regent, whom she had rejected with some disdain when he first declared his love. There are some strong situations in the play, and Mr. Jack makes the best of them, though the story is somewhat vague and lacks brightness. There is no waste of words, and the phrasing is often very happy.

Towards the Light. (Kegan Paul. 1s.)

This mystic poem was translated from the Swedish by Princess Karadjá. A disenchanted sensualist kills his body,

only to find that his thinking self is more alive than ever. It is a striking conception and vigorously worked out.

The Franciscan. By Almund Trevosso. (Unwin Bros. 1s. net.)

This is graceful and melodious poetry, and the Franciscan's story touches some tender chords. He has lived in court and camp till he meets St. Francis and devotes his life to the salvation of 'the infidel.' Love tempts him to turn aside from the path of sacrifice, and though we almost wish that he had yielded, we admire his devotion and self-sacrifice, though he and Lady Marguerite are wellnigh heart-broken. The story interests us right through, and that is no small tribute to such a poem.

Mr. Frowde publishes a neat shilling edition of *Hymns by Horatius Bonar*, with a brief history of some of the hymns by his son, H. N. Bonar. It is tastefully got up, and will be treasured by all lovers of Bonar's hymns.

The Battle of the Books. By Jonathan Swift; with selections from the literature of the Phalaris Controversy. Edited by A. Guthkelch, M.A. (Chatto & Windus. 1s. 6d. net.)

This volume of *The King's Classics* is wonderfully cheap and extremely well edited. An introduction of sixty-four pages gives a full account of the famous controversy which led to Swift's book. Extracts are added from Sir William Temple's 'Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning' which are well worth study as a distinguished Englishman's comparison between the work of his own century and that of Greece. Every one who is interested in ancient and modern learning will find the book a treasure-house of good things.

The Confessions of Al Ghazzali have just been added to the *Wisdom of the East* series (Murray, 1s. net). The translation, by the Rev. Claud Field, M.A., introduces English readers for the first time to the learned Professor of Theology in Bagdad, who was born in 1058, and attained such a reputation that Mohammedans sometimes said: 'If all the books of Islam were destroyed, it would be but a slight loss provided Al Ghazzali's work on the *Revivification of the Sciences of Religion* were preserved.' His *Confessions* show how the great scholar, who

had three hundred students in his classes, at last realized that he 'was only actuated by a vain desire of honour and reputation.' He thus began his long quest for God. Leaving his family, he betook himself to Syria, thinking only of self-improvement and discipline. He lived a solitary life in the mosque at Damascus, secluded himself in the Sanctuary of the Rock at Jerusalem, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and at last found rest for his soul among the Sufis. It is a touching story, and Mr. Field's mastery of the language is evident in his graceful translation.

Victories of the Engineer, by Archibald Williams (Nelson & Sons, 3s. 6d.), is one of the most instructive and entertaining books for boys that we have met. It will be quite as much appreciated by older readers, and will give them an insight into the construction of railroads, bridges, canals, harbours, ships, and such works as the great dam at Assuan. The description of the building of the *Mauretania* and of her engines will be greatly appreciated, and so will the account of the Dover harbour works. The book is full of splendid illustrations, and every page records some victory of trained brains and wonder-working machinery.

The Cambridge County Geographies (Cambridge University Press, 1s. 6d.) are exactly what schools need to interest children in their own county. The volumes on Surrey, Kent, and Essex, by George F. Bosworth, F.R.G.S., describe the general characteristics, size, shape, and boundaries of the counties, their rivers, hills, geology and soil, natural history, &c., in a way that makes learning a pleasure. Well-selected illustrations add greatly to the interest of books, which are bound to become more popular as they are known and used. Nothing seems to have been overlooked. It would well repay every Englishman to read the little volume on his own county.

The Cambridge University Press has included Cobbett's *Rural Rides* (1s. 4d.) in its *English Literature for Schools*. The selection has been made with excellent taste by J. H. Lobban, Lecturer in English Literature at Birkbeck College. Cobbett never wrote anything more delightful than his *Rural Rides*, and its best things are in this charming volume.

Mothers in Council, by Ellen McDougall (Culley, 2s. 6d.). Lady McDougall's 'Talks for Mothers' Meetings' are the best we have seen. They are full of wise hints on cooking,

ventilation, the care of a house, and of children. The blessing of the Day of Rest is alluringly set forth, and mothers are taught to take an interest in the salvation of the world as well as in their own homes. Some delicate subjects are handled with much discrimination, and Lady McDougall spreads a larger vision before the eyes of simple folk. The book itself is a happy education in the best things.

Aloes and Palms, by Joan Haworth (Culley, 1s. 6d. net). These sketches of village life in South India give a wonderfully clear idea of the influence of a mission hospital, and the way in which the patients are helped and drawn to Christ. Miss Haworth styles herself the 'resident,' and her description of the jatr , a mixture of fair and religious festival, enables us almost to see the crowds with our own eyes. That indeed is the charm of this unpretentious little book. It brims over with good sense and sympathy with young and old.

Araminta, by J. C. Snaith (Smith, Elder & Co., 6s.) is the grand-daughter of the Duchess of Dorset, immortalized by Gainsborough, and when she comes from her father's country parsonage to live with her aunt, the worldly Lady Crewkerne, she seems to be the duchess returned to life. The glory of her daffodil hair and her lovely face and figure appeal wonderfully to the Earl of Cheriton, but though he is tempted to make her his countess, he decides to play the part of her fairy godfather, and makes her happy with the clever portrait-painter whom, as a child, she had promised to marry. The characters are all alive, and the book, despite occasional vulgarity, is full of good spirits and good nature. *Araminta* has a heart of gold, though she is simple almost beyond belief. Her sister Muffin has more spirit, and we hope Mr. Snaith will give us a book about her before long.

Dr. Neale's stories for children are still eagerly read, though some of them were published sixty years ago. He tried to make the heroic days of St. Cyprian and Perpetua live again, and drew out the lessons which young readers may learn from their steadfastness. He was steeped in Church history, and brought a poet's insight and imaginative force to his work. In *The Farm of Aptonga* (2s.) Cyprian is the chief figure; in *The Egyptian Wanderers* (2s.) we have an exciting story of adventure and deliverance in the tenth persecution; *Tales of Christian Heroism* (1s. 6d.), *Lent Legends* (1s. 6d.),

Deeds of Faith, Tales of Christian Endurance, The Followers of the Lord (1s. each) are drawn chiefly from Church history, though some are stories of latter centuries. They are published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and are exceedingly cheap and well illustrated.

The Brownie's Box, by Florence Bone (R.T.S., 1s. 6d.). A dainty story of an Indian missionary's girl and her missionary box. The Brownie is a lovable little maid who does a great work in the English village where she stays with her uncle.

The Wounds of a Friend, by Dora G. McChesney (Smith, Elder & Co., 6s.), is a story of Virginian colonists in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It is powerfully written, but its appeal is scarcely to those who like a story that ends well. Captain Tremayne's conduct towards his friend at the beginning of the tale is hard to understand, but when he allows a broken and half-maddened man to be beheaded as a traitor we lose patience. The sea fights between Spanish and English vessels are lurid, and the procession of the great galleons of the defeated Armada past the coast of Ireland acts on us like a spell. Many problems of conduct are worked out in a masterly style.

Mr. Lane has added *The Fool of Quality*, by Henry Brooke (two vols., 2s. net), to his *New Pocket Library*. The little volumes, in their crimson covers, are very attractive, the type is clear, and there is a useful biographical note by Francis Coutts. John Wesley published an abridgement of the book, which he strongly commended because 'it perpetually aims at inspiring and increasing every right affection, at the instilling gratitude to God, and benevolence to man.' Like books of its day it is lavish in sentiment, but it has no horrors, and benevolence and constancy always have their reward. Many will want to secure this tasteful edition.

Spun-Yarn, by C. J. O. Sanders (Culley, 1s. net). Ten stories of sailors and sailors' wives, written by one who knows and loves them. They have a touch of reality and more than a touch of pathos. Such a little book will win many friends for the Seamen's Mission, in whose interest it has been written.

Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. have issued a new edition of Sir Leslie Stephen's *Hours in a Library* (three vols., 3s. 6d. net per vol.). The force and freshness of the estimates of Defoe, Macaulay, Gray and his school have long been recognized, and

every lover of books will find the hours spent among them with Sir Leslie Stephen a real education in taste and knowledge. The range covered is extensive, and each study is marked by robust sense and wide sympathy. The first paper on Defoe's novels represents Robinson Crusoe as the typical John Bull, as sturdy and self-composed in a desert island as though he were in Cheapside. 'He meets a savage and at once annexes him, and preaches him such a sermon as he had heard from the exemplary Dr. Doddridge.' It is illuminating and thought-provoking throughout.

London Diocese Book for 1909 (S.P.C.K., 1s. 6d. net). Prebendary Nash has edited this comprehensive manual with extreme care, and every one who consults it will be deeply impressed by the varied activities of the Church of England. It is an invaluable handbook.

Immortality. By E. E. Holmes. (Longmans. 5s.)

Canon Holmes writes for devout laymen, and they will certainly enjoy his discussion of this supreme subject. His chapter on 'Immortality and Psychology' leads to the conclusion that we know too little 'to build up any conclusive theory, or belief, upon foundations that are, to scientific, and even psychological, experts, still insecure.' Prayers for the dead are not forbidden in the Church of England, but the quotation from a Jesuit priest, with which the chapter closes, will show the perils which beset the practice. Another section which is not congenial to us is headed, 'The Pain of Paradise'; but where we differ from the writer we are strongly interested in his views, and grateful for a well-reasoned defence of the Christian doctrine of immortality.

The twenty-first edition of Hill's *Alphabetical and Chronological Arrangement* (Culley, 2s. 6d. net) has just been prepared by Dr. Waller, with the help of the Rev. Arthur Triggs. It gives the circuits in which every living Wesleyan Methodist preacher has travelled, a list of Presidents and Secretaries of the Conference, and of all ministers who have died in the work. In this edition, the college in which ministers were trained first appears. The interest of these outline biographies grows as one studies them, and members of other Churches will be glad to have their attention called to a book which every Methodist finds to be essential. Dr. Waller has done his work with characteristic accuracy and promptness.

The Conversion of John Wesley (F. Griffiths, 6d. net) is a wonderful study, and the late Rev. Richard Green has told it in a way that will stir many hearts. It is written with characteristic grace of style and full knowledge of the documents, and the Rev. T. F. Lockyer pays a charming tribute to his greatly loved friend in his Introduction.

Beside the Red Mountain (Culley, 1s. 6d. net) is a description of 'Toils and Triumphs in a Chinese City,' by Kingston De Gruchè. The eight full-page illustrations are exceptionally good, and the story of Mr. Somers and his bride gives a lively set of pictures of Chinese life and missionary work. It is a sparkling book.

Social Ideals (Culley, 6d. net) gives a striking address on 'Working Men and Gambling,' by Will Crooks, M.P., a valuable study of 'The Socialism of John Wesley,' and papers on 'Trade Unionism,' 'Unemployment,' 'Christianity and our Wages System,' 'Christianity and the Problem of Poverty.' Every writer is an expert, and these condensed and closely reasoned papers will be of great service to all who wish to study the social problems of the day.

One and All Gardening for 1909 (2d.) will attract and help gardeners in many ways. It is edited with ample knowledge by Mr. Greening.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

To some the most interesting article in the *Quarterly* (January-March) will be Prof. Dicey's luminous and exhaustive examination of *Woman Suffrage*. Others will turn to *A New Departure in English Poetry*, in which Mr. Henry Newbolt describes *The Dynasts*, by Mr. Thomas Hardy, and will be pleased to find that, while hailing this vast historical pageant as the dawn of a new day in English poetry, in the course of which a succession of younger adventurers will be encouraged to 'set sail for the El Dorado from which Mr. Hardy has brought back so rich a treasure,' the writer does not fail to indicate the weak points in *The Dynasts* from the standpoint of the philosopher. 'Why,' acutely asks his not unsympathetic critic, 'has Mr. Hardy given the name of "Will" to that which never wills, or where does he find a place for "Chance" in his clock-work universe, or how did man's evolution come to depart so far from evolutionary law as to result in the acquisition of an "unneeded" faculty?' Still others will fix their eye on the Poet Laureate's comparison and contrast between *Milton and Dante*, and will note his illustration of the attitude of the two great poets towards the more 'romantic' sex; his pictures of the youth and manhood, first of Milton, then of Dante, the former full of sprightliness sobering into gravity, the latter full of gravity, if not of severity, throughout; in both he notes an entire lack of humour; and he ends with a comparison, not favourable to the English poem, between the 'Divina Commedia' and 'Paradise Lost.' Most of our readers, however, because of its biblical interest, will probably be attracted and instructed by Dr. Weigall's *Religion and Empire in Ancient Egypt*, in which there is a remarkable account of the Pharaoh Akhnaton, whose body was found in 1907, after 3,000 years of sepulture, and in whose reign the worship of Amen was replaced by the worship of Aton—a religion, says the writer, 'which marks the first point in the study of advanced human thought.' Among the inscriptions of the period there are many hymns and poems, some of them attributed to Akhnaton, which remind us strangely of our Psalms. Here, for instance, is part of his great 'Hymn to the Sun,' which takes us at once to Psalm civ.: 'How manifold are Thy works! they are hidden from before us, O Thou sole God, whose powers no other possesseth; Thou didst create the earth according to Thy desire. . . . When Thou settest . . . the world is in darkness like

the dead. . . . Every lion cometh forth from his den ; all serpents sting. Bright is the earth when Thou risest . . . the darkness is banished. The (people of) Egypt . . . awake and stand upon their feet . . . then in all the world they do their work. The ships sail up and down the river . . . the fish leap up before Thee, and Thy rays are in the midst of the great sea.' The whole article is full of valuable information for archaeologists and for students of comparative religion.

The brightest paper in the *Edinburgh* (January-March) is devoted to *Henry Irving*, who 'brought greatness back to the English stage.' Early in Irving's career, George Henry Lewes said, 'In twenty years he will be at the head of the English stage'; to which George Eliot replied: 'He is there, I think, already.' According to the writer, Irving was 'far from the type of a great actor—a Sonnenthal or a Macready, with strong, mobile features, well-formed limbs, and the imposing brow that Tragedy has brushed with her wing. He was tall and gaunt of frame, with hawk nose, chin slightly bull-dog, sloping forehead, and smallish eyes; notable only . . . for his profound melancholy.' Despite these physical drawbacks, he achieved a notable success as an actor, and a still more remarkable success as a proprietor and manager. We owe to him 'the greater vogue of Shakespeare, the greater attention to correct equipment, the greater beauty of the scenery' of the stage. His influence on acting has been mixed: 'on the one hand he taught it to be rich, reflective, clever, picturesque; on the other to be directed too much to the individual part and the individual scene, too little to the play as a whole, and to be deplorably halting and slow.' 'We may prize the memory of his genius'—so ends this fine critical appreciation—'without attempting to minimize his defects.' Perhaps the most valuable article in the number is *Biological Problems of To-day*, in which, *à propos* the fiftieth anniversary of *The Origin of Species* and the Darwin centenary, the writer sets forth and discusses the new ideas which have arisen on the subject of evolution since Darwin's day. The latter part of the paper is of special importance to students of social science and social reform. The manifold evils likely to arise 'when the country is governed by men ignorant of the most elementary principles of the science of life' are pointed out, and many a warning note is struck. 'Unless the humility which science teaches can be quickly infused into the people,'—so the writer ends—'Nature will lightly sweep us off the face of the earth as an obdurate and disobedient race.'

The *Dublin Review* (January-March).—Dr. William Barry discusses *The Censorship of Fiction*, starting from Milton's plea for unlicensed printing, in the *Areopagitica*, and touching on Plato's plea for censorship, in the second *Book of the Republic*, but dealing chiefly with present-day proposals. Dr. Barry does not think a censorship of fiction feasible or in all respects desirable, but advocates the strengthening of the law against improper literature, private and combined effort to put the law in force, and hearty support of the Social Purity

Crusade. It is an impassioned appeal to parents, teachers, and all well-wishers of England; about whose future the writer is seriously alarmed. 'Luxurious America is rotting before our eyes. England, serious at heart . . . is becoming a portent of frivolity. Christian or Pagan—which will it be in another generation?' In *Shooting Niagara—and After*, forty-two years ago, Carlyle predicted that all the Churches would have lost their hold of the people in half a century. The writer thinks that things are looking in that direction, and concludes that 'If literature be a symptom, we are destined to struggle for our faith in the furnace seven times heated of a pagan democracy.'

The appointment of the Rev. W. B. Selbie to Mansfield College in succession to Dr. Fairbairn gives special interest to his article in the February *Contemporary*—*Historic Fact and Christian Doctrine*. The article is directed mainly against those who are disposed to substitute the living Christ for the Christ of history. The teaching of Ritschl and his followers, of Loisy and his school, and lastly of the Pragmatists, is subjected to searching, kindly criticism, and the new principal shows himself keenly alive to the fact that 'the tendency to divorce religious experience and thought from fact and history is one that has to be combated at every point.' He fully recognizes the service of the modern schools of theology and philosophy to religious thought and life, but earnestly contends for the validity of the historical facts on which the Christian religion rests and out of which it sprang. The same number contains an excellent appreciation of Edgar Allan Poe as the founder of Symbolism, by Mr. Edmund Gosse. 'The cardinal importance of Poe as a poet,' writes Mr. Gosse, 'is that he restored to poetry a primitive faculty of which civilization seemed successfully to have deprived her. He rejected the direct expression of positive things, and he insisted upon mystery and symbol. He endeavoured to clothe unfathomable thoughts and shadowy images in melody that was like the wind wandering over the strings of an Æolian harp. . . . He was the pioneer of a school which has spread its influence to the confines of the civilized world, and is now revolutionizing literature.'

Hibbert Journal (January).—Two articles deal directly, and others indirectly, with what is known as psychical research. Mr. Gerald Balfour gives a critical account of communications from the world beyond, purporting to come from the late F. W. Myers. Prof. Graham, describing another similar set of phenomena, concludes that 'Myers himself is voluntarily staying near us for the sake of the service of our faith.' Dr. H. R. Marshall in *Psychotherapeutics and Religion* criticizes severely the claims of Christian Science, especially as put forward in the movement in Emmanuel Church, Boston, under Dr. MacComb. An article that has occasioned more comment than it deserves is by the Rev. R. Roberts, who describes himself as 'Congregational Minister, late chairman of the Bradford Education Committee.' It is entitled *Jesus or Christ?* and challenges the

claims of orthodox theology to identify the Ideal Christ with the historical Jesus. But there is nothing new in the argument, and the article is only notable as showing how frankly Unitarian a 'Congregational' minister may be. Miss Vida Scudder, in discussing *The Social Conscience of the Future*, contends that humanity is quite capable of rising to the extremely high altruistic standard required by a Socialistic state, and that the necessary discipline would be very wholesome for the present generation. Prof. William James, the eminent psychologist, gives a favourable description of Fechner's view that the earth is a conscious Being. It is quite clear that this number of the 'Hibbert' provides abundant food for thought, for we have only named half the articles it contains.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—Two long articles, covering seventy pages between them, deserve careful reading. The first is a continuation of Mr. C. H. Turner's discussion of the *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. In this part he deals with the Four Gospels. He points out that 'there is absolutely no trace anywhere, from the time that the conception of the canon matured at all, of any inclination either to add another to the Canonical Four or to omit any one of them.' He also shows that 'the saner sort of criticism' has practically established that each and all of these had been written before the end of the first century; St. Mark about A.D. 65, St. Matthew about A.D. 80, St. Luke 80-90, St. John A.D. 90-100, St. Mark, and possibly St. Luke, in Rome, St. John in Ephesus, St. Matthew in Palestine. By the middle of the second century these 'came to be regarded as constituting a single *corpus*, a collection of the Church's authoritative records of her Founder's life on earth.' The second article, by Sir H. Howorth, is marked by no little learning, and is intended to disparage the mode of judging of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments among the later reformers of the sixteenth century. In a previous article the subject was begun, and the moral which the writer seeks to point is that the reformers were inconsistent in that they partly accepted the canon recognized by the Catholic Church, partly tended to correct it by 'individual illumination.' The subject is too large to discuss here, but it must be said that Sir H. Howorth does not sufficiently admit the evidence of the Hebrew Canon and Jerome's advocacy of it, so far as the discussion on the Apocrypha is concerned. Among the reviews the Rev. C. H. Richards writes a very interesting notice of Dr. J. H. Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*.

The Primitive Methodist Quarterly (January).—Dr. Forsyth's volume on *Positive Preaching and Modern Mind* forms the subject of an article by G. P. Maynard, who criticizes some of the positions taken up in that able and stimulating book. These concern Dr. Forsyth's epigrammatical mode of expression rather than the substance of his lectures. The author would unquestionably

agree with his critic in the statement that 'the Cross must not be overshadowed even by ethical interests, which can only be secured on the basis of love revealed and realized. The Cross is the expression of God's love.' Amongst the personal articles we find one on *Stewart of Lovedale*, by E. W. Smith, another on *Arthur C. Benson*, by J. W. Clifford, M.A., and another by Joseph Ritson on *Grenfell of Labrador*, 'a great medical missionary.' Two articles of a denominational character but possessing general interest are Mr. S. Horton's on *The Old and the New Primitive Methodism*, and the continuation of the Rev. C. M'Kechnie's *Notes of My Life*. We observe one article is by a Wesleyan Methodist minister, the Rev. W. Ernest Beet, M.A., who discusses the Churchmanship of Cardinal Wolsey with historical knowledge and insight. Prof. Peake's notices of *Current Literature* are, as usual, interesting and informing.

The Expositor (Jan., Feb., March).—Sir W. Ramsay contributes to both these numbers. In the former he writes an appreciative critique of Dr. Milligan's *Thessalonians*, in the latter he discusses a very interesting question—the 'sources' on which St. Luke may be supposed to have drawn in writing Acts i.-xii. The article is not finished, but the evidence points partly to oral tradition current in the primitive Church, partly to documents of an early period utilized and combined by St. Luke as a skilled historian. In the January number Principal Garvie describes *The Pauline Doctrine of Christ*, Prof. Barnes discusses *The Relation between the David of 'Samuel' and the David of 'Chronicles'*, and a very interesting article by Prof. Denney deals with *Jesus' Estimate of John the Baptist*. In the course of it a suggestive exposition is given of the crucial passage, Matt. xi. 12-15. In the January number the Rev. John Ross contributes a note on *ἐπεφύκειν* in the New Testament, advocating the passive meaning of the word, and thereby evoking a reply in the February number from the veteran Dr. J. B. Mayor, whose discussion of the point in his *Commentary on James v. 16* is almost conclusive. Dr. Charles, replying to Dr. Plummer, contends for the dependence of the New Testament on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, notably in the high conception of the doctrine of Forgiveness as set forth in the Testament of God. We imagine, however, that the last word has not yet been spoken on this question. Perhaps the most interesting article in the February number is that by Prof. H. R. Mackintosh on *The Unio-Mystica as a Theological Conception*. It will repay careful study as a thoughtful contribution to biblical theology.

The March number includes a continuation of Prof. Deissmann's account of *Primitive Christianity and the Lower Classes*, also of Principal Garvie's able exposition of Pauline doctrine, and Sir W. Ramsay's most interesting inquiry into the authorities used by St. Luke in Acts i.-xii. The new Oriel Professor of Biblical Interpretation, Dr. G. A. Cooke, publishes his inaugural address. We

earnestly hope it may soon be followed up by a course of lectures on the lines indicated.

The Expository Times (January-February).—Dr. Sanday continues his discussion of *The Bearing of Criticism upon the Gospel History* dealing chiefly with the Fourth Gospel. Professor Kennedy writes on *The Position of the Courts in Herod's Temple*, and Prof. Banks reviews Steinbeck's work on *The Consciousness of Jesus as unfolded in the Synoptic Gospels*. Most of the space in the January number is taken up with very short articles and notes, which, however, are full of interest. Besides those of the Editor a number of *Contributions and Comments*, by Mrs. Gibson, Dr. Moffatt, Dr. Milligan and others are very suggestive.

In the February number Dr. Whitehouse raises some important questions concerning *The Aramaic Papyri recently discovered at Syene*. Rev. J. Dickie brings to a close his interesting articles on *Modern Positive Theology*. These have appeared at intervals in such piecemeal fashion that it is to be feared their value as a connected whole may be lost sight of. Other articles are *The Symbolism of the Parables*, by the Rev. R. M. Lithgow, and further notes by Dr. Kelman on *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and a sheaf of *Contributions and Comments*, by Dr. Nestle, Mrs. Lewis and other eminent writers.

Dr. Garvie's address on *The Development of Religious Consciousness*, delivered at the Oxford Congress of Religions, is far more than worth the price of the March number. Rev. J. M. Shaw furnishes a good account of *The Religious-Historical Movement in German Theology*.

The Church Quarterly (January).—Sir Thomas Raleigh's paper, *The Mind of the East*, is an attempt to study the Eastern mind. He thinks that where West and East are at variance, there are faults on both sides. Our safety lies in disregarding all that is said by party men for party purposes. The English rulers in the East must be learners before they aspire to be teachers. The articles on *Presbyterianism and Reunion*, *Causes and Remedies of Unemployment*, and *The Dearth of Clergy* are of great value and interest.

AMERICAN.

Harvard Theological Review.—The January number begins the second year of this new and able American Quarterly. Writing from the pragmatist point of view, Prof. John E. Boodin, of the University of Kansas, vindicates *The Reality of Religious Ideals*. 'The truest and most objective religious ideal is that which can furnish the completest and fullest satisfaction of the demands and longings of evolving humanity.' The argument that Christianity cannot claim exemption from this test of 'the completest ministry to human nature' leads up to the conclusion that 'inasmuch as the personality of Jesus answers all our demands for personal goodness, as no other

historic individual does—fulfils them not only relatively but completely—we must acknowledge Him as divine in a unique way.’ An article on *The Recent Literature upon the Resurrection of Christ*, by Prof. Ryder of Andover, is clear in its exposition of rival hypotheses, but attributes too much to ‘the mental and spiritual condition of the witnesses.’ Writing on *The Influence of Christianity upon the Roman Empire*, Dr. McGiffert shows himself quite sufficiently ‘alive to its defects,’ but recognizes that ‘its victory was fairly earned by sheer superiority.’ Dr. F. G. Peabody contributes a suggestive paper on *New Testament Eschatology and New Testament Ethics*. To those who would apply ‘the key of eschatology’ to the moral ideas of Christ, Dr. Peabody rightly says that the ethics of the gospel are designed for this world; they are not ‘interim-ethics appropriate for those who looked for some great catastrophe.’ Our Lord did not view nature and human life ‘with the pensive indifference of one whose heart is elsewhere.’

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The January number opens with a thoughtful article on *Immortality*, by Dr. John Bascom. Its main positions are that ‘the doctrine of a distinct purpose, of pure thought, as lying at the centre of the world—the doctrine of theism—is a guarantee of immortality,’ and that ‘the grounds of belief and the sense of reality are greatly altered when a future life is guaranteed to us in extension of an ethical life, which has become to us the sum and substance of being.’ It is well said that ‘the two assertions of Paul cannot fall apart: to live is Christ, to die is gain. . . . There is a sense in which we know all that we are capable of knowing. If we would know more, we must be more.’ A succinct account of Kant’s *Philosophy of Religion* is given by a Scottish writer, Dr. James Lindsay; and the *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* are continued by a sturdy opponent of the Wellhausen school—Harold M. Wilner, LL.B., Lincoln’s Inn, London.

The American Journal of Theology.—The January number of this ably conducted periodical is even more valuable than usual. There is much in almost every one of the five leading articles which provokes dissent in our minds, but all deserve careful study. They are: *Was Jesus or Paul the Founder of Christianity?* by Dr. M’Giffert; *A Positive Method for an Evangelical Theology*, by Prof. Shailer Mathews; *The Problem of Natural Evil and its Solution by Christianity*, by Dr. H. W. Wright, of Lake Forest University; Prof. B. W. Bacon’s *Criticism of Harnack on the Lukan Narrative*, and *The Psychological Nature of Religion*, by a writer unknown to us, Prof. J. H. Leuba. Dr. M’Giffert is not disposed to give in to the current fashion of describing St. Paul as the real founder of Christianity, but he admits that the Church movement was started and the institution established by others than Christ Himself, and he asserts that ‘in most of its principles and beliefs and practices the influence of others has been controlling.’ Prof. Bacon seeks to impose an inter-

pretation upon 'Acts' which would largely neutralize Harnack's vindication of its Lukan authorship, but the acuteness and ability which Dr. Bacon here, as always, shows, is in our opinion not matched by equal soundness of judgement. These five longer articles constitute but a part of the value of a number which teems with interest and information useful to the biblical and theological student.

The Princeton Theological Review (January).—An address on 'Jewish Parties in the Fifth Century before Christ,' delivered by Prof. Oscar Boyd at Princeton Seminary, is here reprinted. It presents the most recent knowledge on the subject in a popular and interesting style. The chief article in the number, extending to more than fifty pages, discusses the question whether Calvin was 'an Epigone of the Middle Ages or an Imitator of Modern Times.' It is translated from the French of Prof. E. Doumergue, and contains a vindication of Calvinism as a movement which 'breaking with Romapism and Pelagianism, to reascend to St. Paul, to the Christianity of the Gospel and of Christ, closed the Middle Ages and opened modern times.' We fear that few besides enthusiastic Calvinists will master all its details. The *Reviews of Books* are able and thorough.

The Methodist Review (New York, January-February).—Dr. Tipple's account of the late Bishop Andrews does no more than justice in its high eulogium of one of the finest spirits in the Methodist Episcopal Church of modern times. Dr. C. J. Little's *Value of the Hellenic Spirit in American Life* is scholarly and inculcates some important and much-needed practical lessons. Dr. Mudge in *Methodist Men of Mark* finds so many distinguished Methodists deserving mention that some of his pages are little more than lists of names. There is an interesting account of John Woolman, who is somewhat curiously styled 'An Explosive Quaker.'

The Methodist Review (Nashville, January).—Two articles in this number deal with ministerial education, one being entitled *The Case of the Denominational College*, the other *Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church South*. Both are instructive to readers in this country as written from a transatlantic point of view. A kindred subject is discussed by J. E. McCulloch of the Methodist Training School, under the heading *The Crisis and the Need in the Methodist Episcopal Church South*. We cannot admire the title or the method of the article on *The Temperament of Jesus*. Perhaps the most useful pages in the number are those which describe *The Best Books for New Testament Study from the Standpoint of the Preacher*, by Prof. Votaw of Chicago University.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville, January).—The latest issue of this (Baptist) Review contains the following articles: *The Old Faith and the New Philosophy*, by Prof. C. S. Gardner; *The Stundists*, by Dr. Franklin Johnson; *A Fourfold View of the Lord's*

Supper, by Rev. C. E. Dobbs; *A Study of Southern Baptist Home Missions*, by Rev. V. J. Masters; *Personality in Religion*, by Rev. James Buchanan; *The Three Prophetic Days*, by Rev. O. L. Hailey; and last, but certainly not least valuable, an opening lecture by Prof. Iverach of Aberdeen, entitled *Caesar or Christ?*

FOREIGN.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—Dr. Otto Kirn of Leipzig contributes a thoughtful article to the October number. His purpose is to show the inadequacy of every 'View of the World' that fails to recognize the importance of religion. The difference between 'a view of the world' (*Weltanschauung*) and 'knowledge of the world' (*Weltwissen*) is pointed out. Knowledge of the world may be acquired from, and imparted to, others; but in every view of the world there is a personal element. Both the word 'world-view' and the thought it embodies are modern. The word expresses the desire for encyclopaedic knowledge characteristic of the era of 'Illumination' (*Aufklärung*); but if it claims to include the universe in its survey, it also reflects the ideal of the romantic period, inasmuch as a personal view of the world involves intellectual activity of a higher order than the acquirement of varied learning. When the Renaissance, Romanticism and Critical Philosophy had done their work, the modern mind discerned that its aim must be to gain a 'world-view.' In Schleiermacher's writings Dr. Kirn finds the earliest use of a kindred word (*Weltansicht*).

There is a sense in which man has always striven to look at the world from the point of view of his own personal interests. But, as Dr. Kirn explains in a clear historical summary, at first the material of human experience was limited and thought was in its infancy. Hence arose *mythological* interpretations of natural phenomena, and on the imperfections of this view of the world as well as on those of the *physical* and *metaphysical* respectively the article touches wisely. Christianity added, as it were, another dimension to the world; it deepened men's conceptions of personal life. It was concerned rather with true 'views of life' than with 'views of the world,' and it insisted on the pre-eminence of the *moral and religious* aspects of life.

In the Christian era there have, however, been different views of the world. The Aristotelian view was the result of an attempt to combine the subjective idealism of faith with the objective idealism of ancient philosophy. From this system of thought Mysticism was a reaction, for religion can never forget that it springs from a deeper source than the desire to give a rational account of the world. At the Reformation men's thoughts were concentrated on the experience of salvation and interest in the construction of cosmologies declined. But Dr. Kirn argues that the reformers took up the right attitude towards competing scientific or philosophic views of

the world. 'At the centre of his personal life united to God by faith, the Christian is free lord of all things, including the domain of secular knowledge.' Hence Christian faith can live on friendly terms with the Copernican astronomy and with biblical criticism. The Christian view of the world results from the co-operation of science and faith; what is essential is that each should be faithful to its own special task.

In the rest of his article Dr. Kirn shows that science alone cannot guide us to a sufficiently comprehensive 'world-view.' Moral judgements must be taken into account; character as well as knowledge must contribute to the solution of the problem. Apart from religion the convictions that the spiritual has a higher value for man than the material, and that the good must ultimately triumph, would be mere postulates. Religion alone can speak with certainty of the existence of a Higher Power and of the good purpose of His will. Religious experience requires the inclusion of new facts in any satisfactory view of the world. The religious man knows that the moral ideal is not his own creation, but the expression of the divine will. 'To ignore facts and to deny ideals is, in the judgement of faith, equally irreligious.'

The first two articles in the January number treat, with conspicuous ability, but from different points of view, the problem briefly summarized in the title of Dr. Martin Schulze's paper on *God and the World*. His main thesis is 'God and the world are not separate, but they are also not to be merged in one.' The danger of the pantheistic tendencies in modern thought is clearly shown. The safeguard is found in the conception of divine and human personality. The difficulty of speaking of the eternal God as possessing consciousness, will, emotion and thought is recognized; in human personality, for example, self-consciousness develops. But Dr. Schulze finds a solution of the problem in an affirmative answer to his own question: 'No objection is raised when we call God *superhuman*; why should we not also call Him *superpersonal*?' Pfarrer Ernst writes on *The Historical and Metaphysical Element in Christianity*, and contrasts Fichte's disparagement of history with Ritschl's disparagement of metaphysics. He is at pains to show that the doctrine of the Immanence of God is not Pantheism; his reply to those who use the formula *deus sive natura*, identifying God and the world, is that such a view of God and the world is irreconcilable with the Christian religion, which assumes the possibility of a personal relation between God and man. 'Pantheism says: mount or sink into the universe which is God (*Gott Universum*); Theism says: with God against the whole universe.' Freshness of thought and vigour of expression characterize Dr. Adolf Mayer's paper on *Immortality*. It is a conclusive answer to the materialist. Self-consciousness is shown to differ from memory, imagination and reason. 'These grow or dwindle with the body. . . . But self-consciousness (the feeling that I am I) is an experience of the young child, is not extinguished in dreams and remains

until our latest breath.' Therefore, for these and other reasons, Dr. Mayer argues that even the materialist must grant that 'the emergence of self-consciousness in a system of material elements and energies is such a marvel that it is impossible to say beforehand that this marvel can never happen again.'

Other articles in a first-rate number of this most readable journal are on *Scientific and Religious Dogmatism*, by the Editor, *Artistic Feeling in Religious Paintings*, and *The Modern Religious Movement in France*. The annual subscription is only 6s.

Theologische Rundschau.—Dr. Bousset contributes a comprehensive survey of the literature dealing with *The Unity of the Fourth Gospel*. The article extends over two numbers (January–February), and is valuable as a critical estimate of the chief attempts made during the last half century to solve the literary problem involved. Of parts of Wendt's work high appreciation is expressed, but he erroneously suggested that a collection of our Lord's discourses was the basis of the Fourth Gospel. Much attention is given to Wellhausen's recent work (1907) and to the critical comments made upon it by E. Schwarz. In brief it may be said that Wellhausen's more ambitious analysis claims to distinguish between the document which was basal and more recent additions and revisions. Schwarz is content with marking some passages as doubtful, and it is instructive to note that a scholar of such liberal tendencies as Dr. Bousset should pronounce Wellhausen's so-called results 'premature,' and should express doubts as to whether the time will ever come when it will be possible to make such an analysis as is attempted. The most helpful portions of this able article for those who hold to the Johannine authorship is that which deals with the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the synoptics. Special attention is given to the traces of the influence of St. Luke's writings. Granting the difficulty of the Johannine problem, we fail to see that its solution is simplified by ascribing the Fourth Gospel to various members of the Johannine school.

Another article extending over the same two numbers is by Prof. Rolfs on *Ethics*. Von der Goltz's work on *The Basis of Christian Social Ethics* is highly commended. Its aim is to show that a system of Christian ethics necessitates an elementary treatment of sociology. On the one hand, the foundation truths of the Christian religion have a social aspect, as e.g. the command to love God and our neighbours, the conception of sin as a personal and social evil, the Christian idea of redemption and of the kingdom of God. On the other hand, Christianity is called to adjust the interests of the individual and of society; history also proves that the Christian Church has exerted great influence in the social sphere. The work, as a whole, is approved as a successful attempt to appreciate justly the phenomena of social life, and to show that in the moralization of society divine as well as natural factors must be taken into account.

